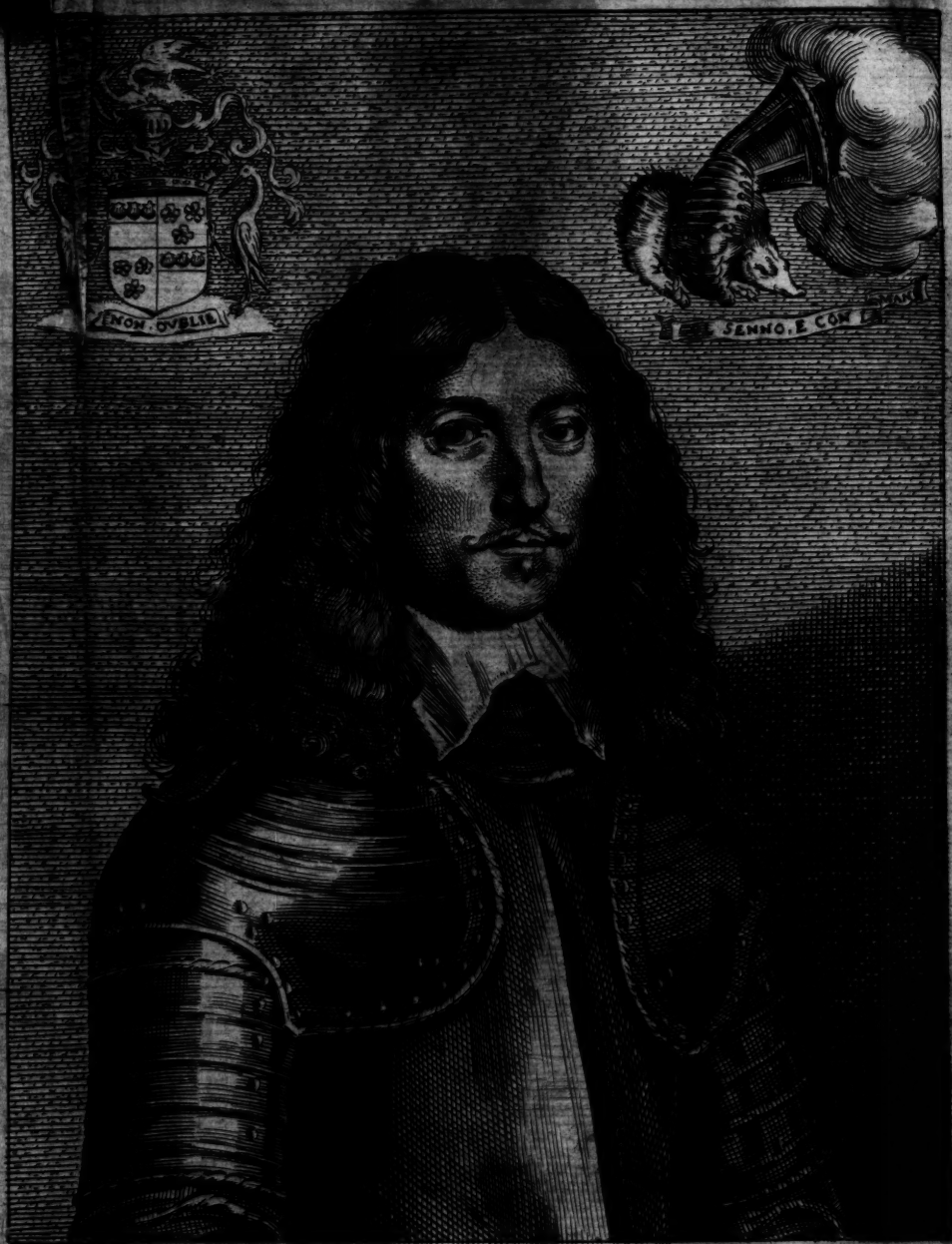


James Marquess of Montrose, Earle of Kingcairne,
Lord Grame, Baron of Montdieu, etc.
Lieutenant Governour and Capt^t. General
for His Matie. in the Kingdome of Scotland.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Kings Majesties Affairs
IN
SCOTLAND.

Under the Conduct of the most
Honourable *James* MARQUES of

MONTROSE.

Earle of Kincardin, &c. and Generall Governour
of that Kingdome.

In the years, 1644. 1645. & 1646.

The second Edition Corrected and much amended.



HAGHE

Printed by *Samuel Browne*, English Bookbinder, dwelling in the
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F. 45

To the High, and Mightie,

CHARLES

By the Grace of God, Prince of Scots, and Wales,
Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Heire
of Great Britaine, &c.

Now and humble (Most High, and Mightie Prince) doeth Your Montrose addresse himself to Your Highnes presence: not He himself, in his full equipage, no, nor a moitie of him, and in crueb

Searse a mean scantling of that matchles worth.

Who, though unpolished and rude, and, in this his Roman dresse, ill deckt, rough, and uncomely; yet shal be not feare the publike view, if You daigne him that favorable aspect, and grace, which You are wont to vouchsafe even forraigners, and strangers that court You. And he thinks, he may, upon better grounds then they, presume to entreat this, he being no alien, but a lawfull native of your Royal Fathers

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chers

chers hereditarie Kingdome: and nootherwise, then
by the fatall calamitie of those times, exposed, bred,
and fed in a strange land. Nor doth he want lively
characters, and marks imprinted in him, to evidence
from what land, and father he is descended: That,
Your own Scotland, wherein one hundred and nine
of Your Progenitors have reigned; all whose Royall
blood runs in Your veins, and divine souls breaths
in Your breast: Him a free, born, and bred native,
of that most ancient Kingdome; a loyall servant of
Your dearest father, his most Gracious Lord, and
faithful follower of his, in despite of all the casual-
ties of fortune.

Which arguments, if they be not sufficient to con-
ciliate the sweet gale of Your Grace, to inspire health,
and life, in this tender birth, otherwise readie to ex-
pire: yet let me beseech Your singular clemencie, to
lend it so much of Your countenance, as to observe in
it (though drawne with a rude pencill) some lineam-
ents, and shaddows of it's first patterne; and even
for those resemblances sake, vouchsafe it so much of
Your countenance, as may give it some life and being,
if not immortalitie. For, who would despise that on-
ly Pourtraiture that were of Scipio, Cæsar, Alexan-
der, or of Your Royall Grandfathers, exstant, Iames
the

the Peaceful, or Henry the Great, because the work of
some obscure, and perhaps, unskilfull craftsman? I can
wel divine, Montrose will not long want an Apol-
les, or Leucippus to paint him out, and limbe him to
the life; nor an Homer perhaps to sing his praises: on-
ly (most Gracious Sir) be pleased to use a while these
my poore endeavours, till those more worthie show
themselves to the world. And looke not on the harsh-
nes of my stile, but bend Your high and generous
thoughts upon the actions, truly Roman, that's to say,
Noble, High, Heroik, Great, and farre transcending
meane and vulgar spirits. And, if You wil impute (as
is fit and just) the blemishes and errours, which here-
in may occurre, to the weaknes of my wit and judge-
ment, and no wayes, to my Patterns Genius, I dare
boldly undertake, that your Montrose shall prove
neither unpleasant, nor unprofitable.

For, what can be more pleasant to a Prince, second
to none on earth, but his Father, borne in that emi-
nent dignitie, bred in that condition, and from his
infancie trained up in those wayes, which resent no-
thing but Heroicall deeds; then to have alwayes be-
fore his eyes, that worthie, whom (be it said without
envy) no man in his time goeth beyond, to embrace,
careffe and cherish him, and coppie out his actions,
and observe,

How he behaves himself, how brave and goodlie,
In Martiall feats, manhood and Chevalrie?

Who taking up arms to serve the commands of the best
of Kings, your most Gracious Father, and leading the
dance, as it were, to usher in Your Valour, which now
waxeth to ripnes and strength apace; hath performed
such exploits, as strikes the present times with admi-
ration; and gratefull posteritie shal ever preserve in
memorie. For, though envy presse hard upon true
glorie, and tread upon her heels; yet that short lived,
and self destroying furie, shall never overtake, nor
occlipse her solid and immortall lustre.

In the meane time (most Gracious Sir) we present
You here with no smoothe fables, or Romanfes.

Antiphates, and Scillaes gulf are not my theme,
Swallowing Charybdis, devouring Polyphemus.

No gyants, or glorious wonders; yet enemies, as
like gyants, and Victories obtained over them, as
like wonders, as may be. For, what did ever lying
Greece saine of the proud attempts of their old gy-
ants, which these conspiratours, the sons of the earth,
have not dared to doe against God, religion,
faith, loyaltie, and right, in all their dealings, with
Your Royall Parents, Your self, and all Yours? Who
heaping up mountains, upon mountains of lyes, calum-
nies,

nies, and slanders; reared up those butworkes, from whence, with horrid violence, they have fought against the Gods. And what did they imagine done by Apollo, by Pallas, or Mars, to overebrow those monsters; which our Montrose did not with like courage undertake, and successe performe? And now that having vanquished, he did not finally, and totally triumph over them; we must impute it to the force of Your Fate, which would not permit the Genius of Your countrey, to owe so glorious a deliverance, to any others valour, but Your own. Nor indeed, seemed it convenient, that any other should thunder downe Enceladus, with those other Titans, to Hell; but the sonne of him, whose father those gyants kept in chains.

And then (Great Sir) when You intend those courses, to which the lawes of God, and man oblige You; the vindication of Your Father, and countrey, from that most savage bondage; what can be more profitable, then to have Your eyes stil on him, as the guide, and leader of Your way, who first of all discovered the counsells, plots, and treacheries of these traitors, and, as I may say, alone did show the way, how to lay their intollerable pride, and breake their power, though grown verie great, before it was perceived.

ceived. For You shall find him a body, without a
soul; for being no more valiant in arms then wise
in counsell and managing affairs, be advised rimous-
ly (and would to God his counsell had prevailed)
to strangle that monster in the cradle, as well as when
it was growen strong, he had crusht it, but that Your
growing vertue, was not to be defrauded, of so large
a field, for purchasing renowne. So that besides his
singular valour, and militarie skill, You may find in
him choise instructions of civil prudence, and politick
wisdom; which though (through the sad fatalitie
of the times) they were but ill believed, yet such as
may perhaps be usefull to Your self, and after ages.
And this is seene clearly, in that advise, to prevent
betimes, the purposes and practises of these traitors,
who had built their hopes upon the sweet dispo-
sition of our most Gracious King. His clemencie to wic-
kedst rebels, his trust in unworthie persons, his boun-
tie to ingrate men (for such most of them proved)
and great compassion on all; more then on anie
strength, or power of their own: and to compasse, and
quell them, by the force of just armes (since they had
left no other way) before their forces, with too long
delay, should bulk, and grow too puissant and great.
And if but this had beene put in execution (to say no-
thing

thing of what else befell us) our Britaine had never become the bloodie stage of this unnaturall war; the glorious Temples of our Lord had never beene so vilely, so wickedly prophaned; our streets had never so swame with the innocent blood of our best Nobles and Churchmen; Your Royal Father, and Brothers had never beene detained in so unworthie bonds; Your Gracious Mother as a Widow, and Your self, as a banished exile, had never beene forced to live beyond seas; though in an hospitable, and friendly, yet strange and forreigne land.

Who is't, that can such stories tell,

And his dry eies, with tears not swell?

And seing in al these exploits (even above envy it self illustrious) the Almighty most evidently kithed his own immediat hand; so that to God alone the whole and solid glory is duly to be rendred: yet withall, who can but acknowledge, honour, admire, love, and set forth his worth, whom that Great God thought good to depute his instrument of so glorious atchievements? For, had our Montrose beene only to grapple with open enemies in the fields, perhaps these might seem matters of lesser moment: That he was never pursued, with lesse then two, sometimes three armies at once, in the front, the rear, and flank; and
the

the least of those, for number of souldiers, choice of weapons, and abundance of all warlike provision, farre exceeding all the forces that he could gather; yet did he still free himself of them all, with equall resolution and successe: That, he had never other Magazin of arms, powder, shotte, or instruments of warre, but what by force he tooke from his conquered enemies: That, in the space of one yeare, he obtained six compleat victories, in sett battells in the fields; and chased the conspiring Lords quite out of all Scotland: That he endured the winter, in a most bitter frostie cold countrie and Climate, without Garrison, without tent, or hutte, or booth; for most part under the open Canopy of Heaven: That dry, he quenched his thirst with cold water, and that such, as from the melting snow came dropping down these mountains: That, without bread, or salt, with beife alone, and that often scarce, stale, and leane, he sustained hunger; and all such other inconveniencies of warre.

But his master-piece, and hardest taske was, to wrestle with those, who would seeme the sharpest avengers of the wrongs done to the King; and patrons of Majestie: with some of their dull, heavie, and stupid stob; others intolerable pride, some of their base cowardise, others their sordid avarice, some of their
hor-

horrible perfidiousnes. So that had not his constan-
cie, and courage been undanted; and that loyall flame
of zeale, which in his heart did burne towards
his dearest, and most dread Sovereigne, beene un-
quenchable; he had never been able to bear out, en-
dure, resist, and rectifie all those severall unruly pas-
sions, and humors of men. For, by severe laws of mi-
litarie discipline, or other punishments (as Comman-
ders in chiefe are wont) Montrose neither ought,
nor could restraine his souldiers; who received no pay;
but took up armes freely, of mere loyaltie to their
King, and goodwill to him their Generall: and who
could easily have turned to the rebells side, so soone
as ever they had but seemed to themselves to be pro-
voked by the slightest injurie, or branded with the
least note of disgrace: men, for the most part, head-
strong, turbulent, factious, and readie to revolt, upon
the meanest irritation and pette. So that to preserve,
at once his own authoritie, with the good liking of
his souldiers, was the most difficult taske in the
world. Nor was there any thing that more violent-
ly exercised his wit and judgement, then that it be-
hooved him to square out his counsellis and actions,
to the measure of other mens capacities, or at least,
seeme so to doe. But he, that he might advance the

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Kings

Kings service, made no account of, and despised, as things farre under him, all the hatred of his enemies, the envy of his emulous rivalls, the back-byting of Court-sycophants, the complaints of his friends, the reproaches of the people, and (which was of all others, most terrible, and most affrighted the superstitious minds of the simple multitude) all the execrations, and anathemaes of their fierie and furious Ministers. Verilie, He, a Generall worthie of a nobler command, and more happie times then these.

And now (most Excellent Prince) this same Your Montrose, will plainly shew that which I hope will most of all conduce to Your affairs: That all Your Scots have never made defection from their most Gracious Lord and King. Which, while some unjust enemies of our good name, too bitterly, and maliciously strive to rubbe upon us; they are no more undeservedly injurious to us, then indeed unfaithful, and treacherous to Your Royall Father, and Your self. Because, they goe about only to render Your best and fastest friends, servants, and subjects suspected, and odious, and consequently uselesse unto You, and unprofitable; of whose loyaltie, and valour, they themselves (the worst of evill counsellours) have just cause to be jealous; least, by their means, it be brought to
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asse, that one day they may receive the just punish-
ment of their treacheries. But, let no man unworthi-
ly upbraid us, that this reflects upon the most renow-
ned nation of the English, as if we did neither think
nor speak aright of them: which is a crime that we
abhorre from our very souls. And to the contrary we
doe confesse, applaud, magnifie, and congratulate in
their immortall glorie, that many Worthies of that
nation have shovne themselves most loyall, brave
and gallant, and done rare, and glorious deeds for
their King. Only this we encreat for, that with the
same ingeniousnes, and candour they would deal
with us, and not lay the guiltines of any one faction,
though never so powerfull and prevailling, to the
charge of the whole nation: nor do to others what
they would not have done to themselves. Neither let
them deny, but that there are, and have been Scots-
men, eminent personages of ev'ia degree, and quali-
tie, who in these most disastrous times, have been
readie and willing to shedde their dearest blood, for
asserting and vindicating the Royall Majestie, from
the combinations of most pernicious rebels in both
Kingdomes.

And this is so evident, and cleare, that these Scots
may (without all boasting) boldly affirme, That they,
being

being hired with no pay, nor expecting other reward;
but meerly moved by a good conscience, and faith,
and pietie towards their most Gracious Sovereigne;
have suffered for him greater losse, according to the
condition of their fortunes, and done the rebells grea-
ter harm, and obtained more noble victories over
them, then others, who, having drained and exhausted
the Kings Exchequer, reduced him to that extream
penury, & want of al things, that in the end he was
necessitated, to render up his Sacred Person into the
hands of the conspirators. But, o how much better
had it been (in our weak judgments) if it had pleased
God, that his Majestie had retired himself to his own
Scots: not those, who then were armed against him, for
the English rebells; out these loyall, trusty, faithfull,
and valiant ones, who fought for him under the con-
duct of Montrose. Assuredly, to those, who under the
command but of his Lieutenant, and Leader of his
armies, durst so gallantly attempt, and did so hap-
pily achieve, what in this book we have most faith-
fully recorded; nothing could have appeared too ardu-
ous, and difficult to compasse, had they been encou-
raged, and animated with the presence of so dear a
pledge. Nor can any doubt, unlesse he be altogether
ignorant of the Scottish affairs, but that, if his Ma-
jesty

jestie had come among them, he would have easily drawn to his party, the hearts and affections of his native subjects; who wholly enclined to him, of their own accord. But this being too well known to the leaders of the rebellion, their speciall care was, that he should find no entrance to his native countrie, when he was in their hands, not fourtie miles distant from the borders of it.

And truly the Scots in generall, though (cheifly at that time) sorely opprest with the heaue yoke of those usurping tyrants; yet were they not afraid to curse, with bitter maledictions, the authours, and abettors of that shamefull deed, of delivering up their King to the hands of the English. And even those, who formerly went along with the conspirators, in all things else, did openly, and not without danger of life, talke thus aloud: That, the single Kingdom of Scotland, had of old sufficed his Majesties ancestours, to mantain their just rights, and Royall dignities: That their own forefathers had been sufficiently able, to defend and fight for the, against their fiercest enemies, cheifly the English, of whom they had purchased manie, great, and glorious triumphs, while they opposed them for their Kings. That, though they had warred often and long with fundries, as

well inhabitants of the same Island, as of other countreys, with various successe of uncertain warre, yet could they never be reduced to those straights, so sleightly, and as it were perforce, to deliver up their Kings to the arbitrement of others. And that they should not now consent to doe it the verie ghosts of their fathers (they said) the most sacred name, and Majestie of a King, their faith, alleagiance, loyaltie, reputation among strangers, example to be derived to posteritie, all right, all lawes of God and man did withstand. And moreover (they added) that it did plainly contradict, and fight against their own verie covenant; wherein they had invoked, as both witnes and judge the immortal God, that they would main-taine and defend their King, the safetie of his person, his dignitie, crowne, and greatnes, against all men living, with their lives and fortunes to their last breath.

So that, beside those seditious and sacrilegious persons, (who first raised that armie by wicked means, and then got the command of it in their own hands, and with the dreadful terror therof overawed their poor countrey men, unarmed, unprovided for warre, without any head, or cheistaine) beleeve it, most of all the Scots, desire no greater happines then an occasion

caſion to teſtifie their fidelitie, obedience, and love
to their deareſt King, and to ſeal it with their blood.
Nor is it to be queſtioned, but that they, being now
ſo trampled on by moſt barbarous tyrannie, would
gladly return to their wonted ſubjection, under the
juſt and eaſie government of their moſt Gracious
Lord and King: ſo ſonne as ever Your Royall Fa-
thers moſt wiſhed for preſence, or Your own ſhall
appeare or ſhine in their Horriſon, like a bleſſed
ſtarre, or influence from heaven.

It becometh You then (moſt Gracious Sir) to em-
ploy all the power and force You can, of body and
mind, to ſuccour Your countrey, and Father, both
in extreame danger at this inſtant. All, to this end,
pray, implore, expect Your help; and promiſe theirs.
This undertaking, by the law of God, and nature, and
prerogative of birth, belongs unto You: and the eyes
and thoughts, not only of Your owne, but of all the
World are upon You. And all men of honour, and ho-
neſtie, heartily deſire, that by Gods help, and with
their beſt wiſhes, and aſſiſtance, You may goe about
this glorious enterpriſe, of reſtoring the Church of
God, now ſunk, and drowned in the ſtinking puddle
of ſo manie vile, and odious ſects, to her former lu-
ſter, and puritie; of re-eſtabliſhing Your Fathers
throne

throne and Kingdome; of recovering Your countrey wonted felicitie, and happie conclusion of all, in a solid, lasting, and much desired order and peace. And so, in a good time, may that most ancient Kingdom of Europe, acknowledge, fear, love, and adore You, as their only highest Lord, and Sovereign: and so may this happines besal from time, to time, World without end.

To You and to Your offspring evermore,
To them, and those, who from them shall
be bore.

Wherefore (Most High and Mightie Prince) I vouchsafe to raise up Your Montrose in Your thoughts, to cherish him with Your countenance, to employ him in peace, or warre, as a counsellour, or Captaine: a worthie, of whom (I hope, and dare promise) so Great a Prince shall never be ashamed.

The first of October
In the yeare of our Lord.

1647.

To the Courteous READER.

THer be some few things (courteous Reader) wherewith I would have them acquainted, who shal come to reade this breife Commentarie: wherof, some concerne the Lord Marquis of *Montrose* himself, whose actions at home, in his native Countrey, by the space of two yeares, are heirin described; and others, the Authour of this worke. And first, I would have thee understand that *Montrose* is the Chiefe of the *Grames*, a most auntient, & renowned family in *Scotland*; and that in the language of the auntient Scots, He is called *Grame* the Greater. He deriues the first known source of his pedigree, from that most famous *Grame*, so often, and so honorably mentioned, in the monuments of that Kingdome; father in Law to *Fergus* the second of that name. Who first, under the command of his Sonne in Law the King, overcame the *Roman*, and overthrew *Severus* Wall, the furthestmost border of the *Roman* Empire; built all along from *Forth*, where it is navigable, to the mouth of the River *Clyde*, wherie the Isle of *Great Britaine* is narrowest; and so closed up the *Roman* Province in straiter bounds. Whence it comes to passe, that the ruins of that Wall, yet evidently appearing, beares his name to this day; and by the neighbouring inhabitants, is called *Grames* Wall. And this same founder of that Noble race, after the death of his Sonne in Law King *Fergus*, being declared Administrator of the Kingdome, and appointed Governour to the young King his grandchilde; was no lesse famous, for his peaceable Government, then exploits of warre. For having recalled, and brought home againe the Doctors, and Professors of the Christian faith, banished by late persecution & warre, to their native Countrey, & settled aswel the Church as Kingdome with wholesome Lawes, of his own free accord, gave up the Government to his Grand-child, now grown to some ripenes of yeares. He lived in the dayes of *Honorius* and *Arcadius* Emperours, about the yeare of

our Lord 400. from whose loynes sprang a long & flowrishing
stemme of sons, and nephewes, who inheriting still, that their
greate Grandfathers Vertues, grew famous in the following
generations.

Among these, that valiant *Grame* was eminent who with *Dunbarre*, brought timous aide to his Countrey, then in greate danger by the *Dones*; who having overpowered *England*, from thence with greate Armies often, but in vaine, invaded *Scotland*. And after, that most Noble *John Grame*, came short, for vertue, & just renowne of none of all his auncestors; who, after the fatall end of *Alexander*, the third of that name King of Scots, in the time of the interraigne (*Bruce*, and *Baliol* then disputing, which of them two had the iuster right, and title to the Succession) with that so justly admired *William Wallace* Governour of the Kingdome, played the most valiant Champion, for defence, and recoverie of his Countreys libertie, from the unjust usurpation, of *Edward* the first, King of *England*. In the which quarrell, after manie gallant acts atcheived by him, like a worthie Patriotte, he died nobly, fighting in the Field. The sepulchre of this renowned Knight, is yet extant in a Church called *Fallkirk*, for *Wallkirk*, from the foresaid Wall of *Severus*, or *Grams* dike, neare to which it is built: about the which wall also, the Lord Marques of *Montrose* enjoyeth divers large, & fruitfull farmes or feilds by right of inheritance, from that first *Grame*, through so manie hands & ages transmitted unto him.

Yet, least we may seeme, only to deduce this most famous worthie, the splendour of his noble Pedegree, from the obscure trace of so remote antiquitie; we shal descend to later, & better known times. And so cannot passe his Grandfather Earle of *Montrose* in silence; who, almost in our own memorie, was raised to places of greatest honour and trust in that Kingdome, which he most faithfully, and worthly discharged. For being Lord High Chauncelour of *Scotland*, at what time *James* the sixt of that name, of ever blessed memorie went to possesse the crowne of *England*: he was by the same King created, and left behind him *Viceroy* of *Scotland*: in which highest place, and degree

gree of dignitie, he died equally Beloved, and deare to King and people.

And then, the Father of this man, singularly endowed with all eminentest graces of mind and body, so as few living in his time could equall him; and no lesse famous in forragne nations then at home: For when he had performed many honourable Embassages for King *James*, was by King *Charles* declared Lord high President of the Supreme counsell: and being, snatched away in his prime, by an untimly deathe, from his King, countrey, and all good men, he died much lamented, and highly esteemed in every mans affections. And now, what men should think of, and hope from this present man Grandchild to the Viceroy, and Lord high Presidents Sonne, let every one that pleaseth, judge, by the things he hath already atcheived, when now it is a yeare and an halfe, since he left that Kingdome, and yet hath not attained to the thirty and sixth yeare of his age.

One thing only more will I adde in thy favour (*Courteous Reader*) from the auntient Monuments of that Kingdome; That three, almost, fatall periods have threatned heretofore the *Scots* Nation; first from the *Romans*, whose yoke our farefathers did shake of under the conduct of that first *Grame*, who was lineally descended out of that auntient, noble Brittish family of the *Falgentij*: The second from the *Danes*, who, that they never gotte the Masterie, and Lordship over vs; we owe it especially to the greatest valour of that second *Grame*: The third from the *English & Normans*, whom that thrid *Grame*, of rarer then once did beate, and drive out of *Scotland*; and, in many bitter conflicts, did them much mischeiffe. So that, as they were wont to say of the *Scipions* in *Afrik*, we may say, of our *Grames*, that that name by a luckie destinie hath been appointed for the succour of their native covntrey in greatest dangers, & distresses: & that in these, the worst times, that ever was, this man was not raised but by speciall divine providence, to preserve the Kings just rights, to restore to his fellow subjects, their wonted peace, libertie & safetie, and infinitely to encrease the auntient splendour and glory of his own Family. And this is all, that I thought fitt to have briefly præmised of my Lord Marquis of *Montrose*. Now,


Now, of the Authour himself, conceive this much; That he is a man not very conversant in these Studies, nor ambitious to be praised for excellency of wit, which he acknowledges to have but small or none; nor covetous of reward, or gaine, which are the sharpest spurres that in this age doe push men to it, to putte hand to the Pen. But that, he did put hand to this worke, only being enflamed with and ardent zeale, of propagating truthe, to after ages, & forraigners. For how many are ready to patronise, and magnifie, even greatest villanies, when they prosper; and how few to advance, and defend truth, once afflicted, & cast downe; he had learned by too late and sad experience, in a cause very neate of Kinn to this. When the conjured Rebels of both Kingdomes, by their ordinary tricks of lying, and slander, had overthrowne the Church, that with the revenues thereof, purchased by hellish sacriledge, they might sacrifice to their own greedie avarice; and enrich their children, with the heavie curse of God: yet wanted they not those, who extolled them to the skies, as well deservers of their Countrey, yea of the verie Church it self, which they have pillaged, and even of all mankind in generall, when, on the contrarie, they proscribed, defamed, rent, and tore a peeces, with al manner of blasphemies, and curses, all those most holy men of God, *Confessors & Martyrs* (for so they were indeed) who constantly, and courageously opposed, and withstood their rapines. And therefore he thought, it was no wayes to be doubted, that those same men, who by the same wicked practises, wet about to pul under feete the Majestie of so good a King to swell high, with his honours, prerogatives, and patrimony, which they had gained, by perfidious trecheries rebellions, & treasons, would find too to many such sycophants; whereof the world is full; who by the same libertie of calumniating, and reproaching, would backbite this most excellent worthe, and his Heroicall actions. And, what men say of the waspes, that they sucke the juice from most fragrant, & wholesome flowers, which by their own stings, or tongues they empoison: so would these Harpyes strive to defile his most noble exploits, convert them to poyson and gall, by their venomous tongues & pens,

pens, and as such offer and present them to the ignorant, and unwarie world.

Against this Mischiefe, the Authour thought good to offer this short & plaine discourse as a timely antidote to all that love sinceritie and truth; whose so faithfull & constant a maintainer, he professeth, and avoucheth himself, that though he did well foresee, that he should derive upon himself no small hatred, and envy of many, & mightie men; yet he resolved, neither servilly to flatter them, nor to envolue the truthe in obscure, doubtfull, or ambiguous termes. For as he was borne, and bred a freeman, so hath he vowed, never to forsake his libertie but with his life. And, though he be ambitious of no other commendation of a good Historian, either of wit, or art, or eloquence; yet this he thinks he may boldly challenge as his due, that he hath sette down the simple and naked truth: which to assert, and publish to the world, he hath forefaken, & undervalued all those things, which this world holds dearest: thrice robd, and plounded of all his goods, thrice cast in vilest, and ugliest dungeons or prisons, and now the third time banished, for the same: yet is he cheerfull and gladd in heart, that being guiltie of no crime before men, the Lord hath counted him worthie to suffer these things for truth, and righteousnes sake. Love him then, at least for his truths sake (*Courteous Reader*) & of what rests make the best you can, by a faire and candid interpretation: & Farewell.

Search diligently the Havens in the North, and it may
be need to finde out our Englishish vessel to agree with
the Master for the freight, and to appoint him to be
ready to part to sea at such a day, and to transport the
passengers (which should be ready with him) by the
help of God into Norway. By good fortune there
was found in the haven of Stavanger a small bark of Nor-
wegian, and the Master was soon agreed with,
for he was very glad of the opportunity, having hopes
of treasure.

And thus having slept away his sleep, John Drunken
and



Courteous Reader.

Be pleased to Correct these Faults which by reason of the compositors not understanding the English Language, is committed with some few more in the live nature.

Page 2. Line 18. for firname, read surname.

Page 4. L: 20. for professin ghis, read professing his.

Page 32. L: 28. for wat, read what.


Page 64. L: 6. for know, read known.

Page 70. L: 21. for Cordon, read Gordon.

Page 79. L: 20. for match, read match.

Page 109. L: 20. for Lodg'g, read Lodg'd.

Page 171. L: 14. for hig, read high.



F I N I S

The Affaires of the King in SCOT-
LAND, under the Conduct of the most
Honourable *James* Marquesse of *Montrose*,
Earle of *Rinkardin*, &c. and Generall
Gouvernour for his Majesty in that
KINGDOME,

In the years 1644, 1645, & 1646.

JAMES Marques of *Montrosse* having
at first sided with the Covenanters in
Scotland, very actively bestowed his
too too Successful endeavors in their
behalf: For at that time they Preten-
ded to nothing else, but the preservation of Reli-
gion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the La-
wes of the Land, and the freedome of that ancient
Realme, so happily, so valiantly defended in time of
yore from such powerful enemies, as the *Romans*, *Sax-
ons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, by the sweat and bloud, with the
lives and estates of their Ancestours. And the tales
they made they never wanted fitting instruments to
tell and spread among the people. It was given out,
that there was nothing more in the aime of the Court
of *England*, then that that free people being reduced to

a kind of Province, should be eternally enslaved under the power of their old enemies. Yet all this while they engaged themselves by their publique attestations and even a solemne Oath, that they would never goe to worke by force and armes, nor sollicite the King any other way then by Petition, That he would be pleased graciously to accept the supplications of his humblest Subjects, and to take order that his dearest Countrey should suffer nothing in matter of Religion or the liberty of the Subject.

But at last in the yeare 1639. *Montrose* found out that these faire tales were coyn'd of purpose to steale the hearts of the silly and superstitious multitude, and to alienate them from the King, as an enemy to Religion and Liberty. For the Covenanters did not dissemble to him but spoke out, that *Scotland* had been too long governed by Kings; nor could it ever be well with them as long as one *Stuart* (that's the firname of the Kings family in *Scotland*) was alive: and in the extirpation of them, they were first to strike at the head; so that *Montrose* easily perceived the Kings Majesty and Person was levelled at. Therefore vehemently detesting so horrible a crime, hee resolved to desert the Conspirators side, to frustrate their counsels to impoverish their store, to weaken their strength and with all his might to preserve His Majesty and his Authority entire and inviolate. But because betweene force and craft, the Covenanters had drawn in almost all the kingdome to their side, he saw himselfe alone too weak to check their power, and therefore thought not good to open him-

(3)

self too suddenly or rashly. Amongst them he had many friends, men very considerable as well in regard of their numerous retinues and clients, as of their wealth and authority: these he had a minde to draw off from them, and bring them with him to the Kings, and by this meanes conceived he should be able to gather no small power, which would conduce much both to the Kings safety and his owne.

Meane time the Covenanters raise a strong army against the King, and in a solemne Convention at *Duns*, they determine to invade *England*: *Montrose* was absent then. Which resolution of theirs, the chiefe of the Covenanters had taken up in their cabinet counsels more then six weeks before; and to that purpose had been busie in divulging through al Great Britain their Apologeticall Pamphlets, whereby they laboured to set a good gloosse upon the reasons of their Expedition. This resolution of theirs *Montrose* being returned, seeing he could not hinder, would not seem to disapprove: *Montrose* commanded in this army two thousand foot and five hundred horse, his friends (who were most obliged unto him, and had religiously promised their best endeavours in the Kings service) had the command of five thousand more. And truly if a great part of them had not beene worse then their words, they had either brought the whol Army along with them to the King, or at least had broken the neck of the Covenanters designs.

(4)

When the army came to the river of *Tweed* (which is the border of the two Kingdomes) dice were cast amongst the Noblemen and Commanders, and it was *Montrose's* his chance to passe first over the river; which he cheerfully performed on his feet, his own foot soldiers following him, that he might more easily conceale his own resolution, and take off all occasion of suspicion. For as well his authority in the Army, as the integrity of his noble spirit began to be looked on with a jealous eye by the guilty-conscienced Rebels, so that they diligently observed all his behaviour, words and deeds.

After this, marching over the river of *Tine* four miles above *Newcastle*, by the treachery of the English Commanders who had retreated to *York* with a potent Army of the Kings, the Scots possesse themselves of that Towne: and thereupon, Commissioners being appointed on either side to treat of a Peace, a Truce was presently made. In the time of this Truce, *Montrose* had sent letters unto the King, professing his fidelity, and most dutifull, and ready obedience to his Majesty; nor did the Letters contain any thing else. These being stoln away in the night, and coppied out by the Kings own Bed-chambermen, men most endeared to the King of all the world, were sent back by them to the Covenanters at *Newcastle*: and it was the fashion with those very men to communicate unto the Covenanters from day to day the Kings most secret counsels, of which they themselves onely were either authors or partakers. And some of the forwarder sort of the Rebels were not ashamed to tax *Montrose* bitter

ly enough with those letters: and all though they durst not make an open quarrell of it, or call him publiquely to account, because he was so powerfull and wel-beloved in the Army, yet they loaded him with backbitings & slanders among the people. For they had obliged unto themselves most of the Preachers throughout the Kingdome whole mercenary tongues they made use of to winde and turn the mindes of the people which way they would. Nor did they promote their Rebellion more effectually any other way, nor do yet, then this, to have those doughty Oratours in their popular preachments to raile bitterly against the King and all his loyall Subjects, as the *enemies of Christ* (as they love to speake,) being themselves the while the very shame and scandall of Christianity.

Montrose returning into *Scotland*, and thinking of nothing but how to preserve his Majesty from that storm of Rebellion hanging over his head, at last resolved of this course. He joynes many of the prime men for Nobility and Power, in a League with himselfe, in which they vowed to defend the Kings Majesty, and all his royall priviledges, and ancient and lawfull Prerogatives, with the hazard of their lives and estates, against all his enemies, as well home-bred, as foraign unto the last breath in their bodies. And truly it came to that passe, that there had been an open division in the Army (which was his aim) had not some for fear, levity, or cowardise (which are bad keepers of counsell) betrayed the whole businesse to the Covenanters. Heare arose no small stirres and braules, but were pacified againe in a while; for neyther yet

durst they offer any open violence to *Montrose*. But afterward the confederates having given a new oath, made sure the Army at their devotion ; and joyning themselves to the Parliament of *England* in a strict Covenant, although they saw themselves secure enough from the subtlest designs of any private man, yet they seriously consult how they should take *Montrose* out of the way , whose Heroick spirit being fixt on high honourable (howsoever difficult) atchievements they could not endure.

To make their way therefore unto so villanous an act , by the assistance of some Courtiers whom with gifts & promises they had corrupted, they understood that the King had written letters to *Montrose*, and that they were quilted in the saddle of the bearer, one *Stuart* belonging to the Earle of *Traquair*. The bearer was scarce entered the borders of *Scotland* but they apprehend him, rip his saddle & finde the letters. There was nothing at all written in them, which did not become the best of Kings to command , the best of Subjects to obey. Neverthelesse those most exact crafts-masters in the arts of Lying and Slandering set about horrible and tragicall reports by their apt Ministers , that at last all the Kings plots with *Montrose*, for the overthrow of Religion, & the ruine of the Kingdome were found out and discovered. Nor yet neither durst they afford him a publique tryall , but on a suddain when he suspected nothing, thrust him (with *Napier* Lord of *Marchiston*, and Sir *Sterling Keer* Knight, two both of his neer kindred and intimate familiars) into the castle of *Edinburgh*.

At length a Pacification being made between the people of both Kingdomes (between whom there had been no war, onely they laid their heads together against their most just and gracious King) a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh*, where the King in person was present. *Montrose* desires most earnestly to be tryed before the King and that solemne Assembly; but to no purpose, for the Covenanters being conscious enough of his innocency and their own guilt, applyed their speciall endeavours to detain the Gentleman in prison unheard, untill such time as the King was got out of *Scotland*, and they had concluded all things with the King in Parliament according to their hearts desire. And certainly they were much afraid, lest by his wisdom, and courage, and the esteem he was in, as well with his Peers of the Nobility, as with the people, he should have fetch't off the greatest number of either sort to his own resolution for the preservation of his Majesties Power and Authority. At last the King returning into *England*; *Montrose* and his friends are set at liberty: and because it was ordered in Parliament that he should not come into conference with the King he sat still a while at his own house. This was towards the end of the year 1641.

C H A P. I I.

IN the year 1642. the Covenanters of both Kingdomes began to unmask themselves & let us see more plainly what they meant to do. The Rebels in *England*,

England began to vex the King with unjust, unreasonable, unseasonable Petitions and Complaints, bespatter him with malicious slanders prophane his sacred Name in scurrilous songs and Ballads, villifie him in infamous Libells, Pasquills or Pamphlets, raise Tumults, arme great numbers of the scumme and rascally sort of the people, and engage them upon the Kings palace; in a word, threaten all extremity to him & his: whom although he might have justly punished himself, yet he chose rather to refer them to the Parliament, than he might the more oblige it unto himself. But it was to no end for so gracious a King to gratifie that & many things more to so ungracious, so ingrateful men, who were the very authors and abettors of these villanies. For he had already granted more and greater Graces to his Subjects, for the ease of their grievances (which they pretended,) and the security of their persons and estates, then all his ancestors the Kings of *England* together, from *William* the conquerour downward. Therefore at last, that he might withdraw himself & his family from present danger, he is forced fore against his mind to depart *London*: He sends the Queen out of the way into *Holland* for the safety of her life, & betakes himself to *York*. The States of Parliament (as they call themselves) forthwith, & before the King, take up armes, and divert those very Forces which the King had appointed for *Ireland*, which were then in a readinesse, and whose Officers had been of the Parliaments chusing, hoping by thē to overthrow the King himself.

The Rebels in *Scotland* who knew wel enough the King would have strength sufficient to deale with the
English

English Rebels, resolved upon no termes to be wanting to their confederates in so apparent danger as they were in. And al though our most gracious King had given them satisfaction (as much as ever they could desire) in that Parliament at *Edinburgh* aforesaid, which also they have recorded among their publique Acts, neverthelesse they provide themselves for a march into *England*.

Now that they might the better secure their affaires at home, they labour tooth and naile to draw *Montrose* (of whom almost onely they were afraid) againe to their side. They offer him of their own accord the office of Lievenant Generall in the Army, and what ever else he could desire and they bestow. He seeing a mighty storm hovering over the Kings head, that he might give him an account of it whereby it might be timely prevented, undertakes a journey into *England* taking the Lord *Ogilby* into his counsell and company.

At *Newcastle* he received newes that the Queen being newly returned out of *Holland* was landed at *Birdlington* in *Torkeshire*: thither he makes haste, and relates unto the Queen all things in order. She, having had a rough passage, and being not wel recovered from the distempers at sea, told him she would advise further with him about that businesse after they came to *Tork*. Thither being come, the Queen of her own accord calls for *Montrose*, he opens the whole story over againe, & makes it appeare, that there was no lesse danger from the Scotch then from the English Covenanters, if they were not timely suppressed. And being asked his opinion what was best to be done, answered,

To resist force with force ; told her , the King wanted not Subjects in Scotland, faithfull men, and stout ; nor did they want hearts , or wealth , or power to oppose against the Covenanters if they durst enterprise anything against the King : all that they wanted was the Kings Commission , without which they durst doe nothing , with which any thing ; and all the danger that was , was in delay : That the Covenanters , when they had once got their army on foot would be able to grinde any one to pieces that should offer to stirre ; therefore the beginnings of so great an evill were to be withstood , and the cockatrice bruised in the egge ; that physicke being too late that comes when the disease hath over-runne the whole body.

Wholesome counsell it was , and seasonable, which doubtlesse the most prudent Queen had approved of. But while things were going on in so good a posture , al things were quas h't by the coming of the Duke *Hamilton* out of Scotland upon pretence of kissing the Queens hand , and gratulating her happy returne , but in very deed that he might overthrow *Montrose* his counsels ; for he had posted thither with the knowledge & consent of the Covenanters. Nor did he himself dissemble that there was some danger from the Scottish Covenanters, but he laboured to extenuate it ; and condemned the counsel of *Montrose* as rash , unadvised , and unseasonable.

That

That stout and warlike nation was not to be reduced with force and armes, but with gentlenesse and courtesies: Warre, especially (civill warre, should be the last remedy, and used many times to be repented of even by the Conquerours. The fortune of warre was uncertaine; if the King should get the best, it would be but a sorry triumph he could enjoy over his own Subjects: but if he had the worst on't, he must expect what his soule (goodman) abhorred to speake. All meanes were to be tryed to preserve peace with that Nation, nor were things yet come to that passe, that the King should despaire of amity and reconciliation with them: He would be ready to take the whole busynesse upō himself, if the King pleased to commit it to his paines and trust, & to authorise him sufficiently thereunto. Montrose replied, nothing would come of that but the delay of time, untill the Traitors having raised an Army should prevent the King of any meanes to deliver himself and his party from their tyranny. The sad event proved al this to be too true; but in this debate Montrose was faine to suffer himself to be overborn, being not so great a Courtier as the other; nor were those vertues which the world now admires discovered then unto the Queen. Hamilton returning into Scotland, seemed to be as active for the King as was possible.

The Covenanters mean while by their owne authority (contrary to the known Lawes of the Kingdome) summon a Parliament at *Edinburgh*; which all understanding men that wished well unto the King foresaw would be of very dangerous consequence to his affaires, & therefore abhorred it so much that they intended not to honour it with their presence. But *Hamilton* interposing the name and authority of the

of the King, invited the by his letters that they would not faile to be all there; and that they should not doubt but they would be able to out-vote the Covenanters, if at this time they were not wanting to the Kings cause. And if it should happen otherwise, he would be ready with his friends, to protest against the Covenanters & immediately to leave them. Abundance of the Nobility incited by the name of the King, & those hopes, were present at that Parliament, onely *Montrose* and a few of his adherents staid away. And with *Montrose* to the Duke had dealt by his friends, that as he loved & honoured the King he would joyn himself unto them. But he (who had reason to suspect all motions that came that way) answered, that he was ready to grapple with any difficulty, especially under his command who had so great an honour as to be the Kings supreme Commissioner; onely on this condition, that the Duke should engage his honour, that if they could not bring up that Parliament to righteous things he would endeavour to enforce them by the dint of the sword. He answered, he would protest, he would not fight. Which passage considered, *Montrose* to preserve his integrity, expecting the issue, betooke himself to his own home.

In that Parliament, the Covenanters out-voted the Loyall party by seventy voyces or thereabouts, trampled upon the Royall authority, arrogated unto themselves the power of calling of Parliaments, pressing Souldiers, sending Embassadors, and other things hitherto unattempted, without the Kings knowledge or consent. And to make up the measure of their presumption

tion and treason, ordaine that a powerfull Army shall be raised against the King, and in the aid of their confederates of England. To which purpose, they taxe the people with new subsidies & levies, much heavier, then if al the Impositions which upō never so much necessity for two thousand years space by one hundred & nine Kings have been charged upon thē were put together.

Montrose therefore, who saw the king was like to be ruined by his own authority, and saw to that he was too weake to oppose himself both against the strength of the Covenanters & the Kings abused Commission, in a melancholy mood made as if he took no notice of any thing. And the Covenanters, supposing that he had received some distaste from the King, by reason of the affront he received at *Tork* and *Hamiltons* over-povvering him, they set upon him yet againe, privately and by friends, to see if by intreaty or interest they could draw him to their side; offering him authority and wealth, even the greatest Honour Civill and Military. Which offers he did not seem much to slight, that by that meanes he might have an easier vway to dive into their counsell. The Covenanters that this groving friendship might be the better cemented and sanctified (God blesse us) send unto him that great Apostle of their Covenant, *Alexander Henderson*, who should give him full satisfaction in all his scruples. *Montrose* heartily desired to speake with that fellow, out of whom he doubted not to pump all the secrets of the Covenanters: and lest a private meeting with such a man should give a scandall to the Kings friends, he tooke the Lords *Napier* and *Ogleby*, & Sir

Sir *Sterling Keere* to be witnesses of the discourse, and on the bank of the river *Forth* not far from *Sterling* they met.

Montrose made as though he accounted himselfe very happy, and much honoured in the visit of so worthy a man, upon vvwhose faith, honesty, and judgement, he so much relied. Told him, That to give the ill opinion of his enemies leave to breathe it selfe after some late mistakes, he was content to stay at home; that he knew nothing of what was done in Parliament; that he was almost at a losse how to behave himselfe in that ticklish condition the Common-wealth stood; and therefore beseeched him for old acquaintance sake to let him freely know what they intended. Henderson taking it for granted by these expressions that he was wheeling about towards the Covenanters, that he might the more oblige the *Marquesse* unto him, answered him flatly and without more adoe, That it was resolved to send as strong an army as they could raise, in aid of their brethren of England against the Kings forces; that the Covenanters of both Kingdomes had unanimously agreed upon this either to dye or bring the King to their lure; that nothing could fall out more happily, then that he should renew his friendship with his Peers of the Nobility, and the rest of the Kingdome; that so doing he would give great content to all men, besides the honour and profit that would redound to himselfe; that by his example others (if others there were) that idolized the empty shadow of the Kings name, would give most hearty thanks unto his Lord God that he had vouchsafed to make use of him as the Minister and ever Mediatour of so great a worke; and at last entreated him to speake out his minde, and commit all such things to his care and industry as he should desire from the Parliaments, either in relation to his honour or profit; assuring him he satisfied his hearts desire.

Montrose

Montrose having gotten out the knowledge of those things which he eagerly sought for, now bethought himself how he should keep *Henderson* and his party in suspense a while, that they should not yet get within him. For what answer could he give them? If he should profess himself to be against their courses, that would doe the King no good, and might bring a great deale of danger upon himselfe: and on the other side, to put them in greater hopes of him, by promising those things he never meant to performe, as being a stain unto his honour. Therefore he takes this course; there was present at that conference with *Hinderson* one *Sir James Rollock*, Chiefe of a very ancient and flourishing family; his former wife had been *Montrose* his sister after whose death he married the sister of the Marques of *Argyle*, the ring-leader of the Covenanters in *Scotland*: thus being allied unto them both, he seemed to be a very fit mediatour of friendship between them.

Montrose asks him whether those things which had passed between them proceeded from the direction of the Parliament, or out of their owne good wills? He answered, he conceived that Master *Henderson* had received Commission from the Parliament to that purpose; but *Henderson* said no, but he made no question but the Parliament would make good any thing that he promised. *Montrose* told them, he could resolve upon nothing except he had the Publique.

Faith to build upon, especially the messengers disagreeing between themselves. Where upon (as the fashion is on such occasions) one of them layes the blame upon the other, when both of them ought rather to have condemned their owne carelesnesse and negligence. The conference being thus ended, *Montrose* having obtained his ends, and they being no wiser then they came thither, every one went his own way.

C H A P. I I I.

M*ontrose* being returned from this Conference, related all things as they had passed unto some select friends whom hee could safely trust; and withall entreated them, that (for the greater confirmation of the businesse) they would all goe along with him to the King; that his Majesty receiving a full account of all things might lend his care to sound counsell, and yet (if it was possible) provide a remedy against so threatning evils. Most of them were of opinion, That the King and his authority were utterly ruined and irrecoverable; that it was a thing passing the power of man to reduce this Kingdome to obedience; that for their parts they had acquitted themselves before God, and the world, and their owne consciences, that hitherto with the disgrace of their persons, the losse of their estates, and the hazard of their lives they had continued in their allegiance; hereafter they would be onely lookers on, and petitioners unto Almighty God for better times. *Montrose* who could by no meanes be removed from so honest a resolution, communicating his counsell to the Lord *Ogiléy*, (whom of all men he especially loved) goes straight to Oxford. The

The King was absent thence, being gone to the Siege of Gloucester. He imparted unto the Queen what designes the Scottish Covenanters had against his Majesty, but he had as good have said nothing, for she had determined not to beleieve a word, by reason of the farre greater confidence she reposed in Hamilton & his brother.

Montrose, seeing no good was to be done with the Queen, goes to Gloucester, and declares all things to the King himselfe: How there was a powerfull army to be raised in Scotland, & a day appointed on which it should be brought into England; how their counsels were manifestly knowne unto him; & how to fetch him over to their side, they had offered him very honourable Commands in the army; but that he heartily detesting so horrid an employment had fled to his Majesty, that he having notice thereof, if he were not able to provide so timely & powerful a remedy as could be wished, at least might cast some blocks & rubs in their way untill such time as he had settled his affaires in England; that the traitours of either Kingdome might be easily dealt withall by themselves, but if they came once to joyn their forces they would be hardly suppress; that there were very many in Scotland who would sacrifice themselves and all that they had for their dearest King, whose goodwill would be of no use unto his Majesty after the Covenanters had raised their army, but destructive unto themselves; that the haughty spirits of the Traitors were to be sneapt in time, & their strength broken before it grew too big, lest the beginnings being neglected, repentance should prove the onely opposition that could be made afterward.

These things, and to this effect did Montrose continually presse unto the King, but in vaine, for he had not onely the strong and deeply rooted confidence his

C

Majesty

Majesty had of the *Hamiltons* to struggle with, but the
 devices of a set of desperate Courtiers beside, who
 daily buzzed in the Kings eares *Montrose's* youth, his
 rashnesse, his ambition, the envy and hatred he bare
 unto the *Hamiltons*, and what not; & on the other side
 the *Hamiltons* fidelity, their honesty, their discretion,
 their power. Thus *Montrose* nothing prevails & the
 King returns to his winter quarters at *Oxford*. And
 al though his Majesty saw very well (reports coming
 thick and threefold of the Scottish army) that all was
 true that *Montrose* had told him, yet the most reli-
 gious King determined upon no termes to give any
 occasion of quarrell to the Scots till first they entered
England; resolving that he for his part would perfectly
 observe the Articles of Pacification he had made with
 them, which if they should violate, he doubted not
 but they should highly answer it both to God & him.
 While these things were discussed at *Oxford*, the Co-
 venanters in *Scotland* bring their businesse about accord-
 ing to their desires, no one opposing them. They
 raise as big an army as they can, which consisted of
 eighteen thousand Foot and two thousand Horse; Li-
 and at last when they had marched unto the very bor-
 ders, the *Hamiltons* were not ashamed to give the
 King notice by letters of the approach of that formi-
 dable Army; making this their excuse, that according
 to their engagement they had prevented an invasion
 the summer before, but now that winter was come
 on they were able to keep them out no longer, but
 they would come in immediately with a powerfull
 Army. The King when he saw himselfe thus grossly
 abused

abused sends for *Montrose*, shewes him the *Hamiltons* letters, and at last (when it was even too late) asks his advice what was best to be done.

Montrose tells him, that his Majesty might now see that what he had before given him notice of had neither proceeded from ambition, nor malice, nor any self-ends, but from his bounden duty and allegiance; that for above a twelve-month hee had been continually pressing both their Majesties to prevent this; that he accounted himselfe very unhappy that all that while so faithfull a servant, could not be credited by so good a Master; that the case seemed now desperate, but if the King had a minde he might trust them againe who by pretence of his authority had bound some of his friends hands that they could not assist him & drawn in others who intended nothing lesse under colour of Loyalty to fight against him, & given up unto the Rebels, now that they had got an army, all that they had without striking a stroke. The King complaining that he was most abominably betrayed by them with whom he had entrusted his Crowne, his Secrets, his Life, earnestly demanded his advice. He repeating againe the lamentableness of the condition in which things novv stood, neverthelesse offered, that if his Majesty so thought good, he vvould either lose his life, (which if he did, (he would be sure it should seeme rather sold then lost,) or else (vvhich he did not despair of) he vvould reduce his Country men and bring the Rebels there into subjection. The King being no little pleased vvith the confidence, undauntednesse, and gallantry of the man,

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that

that he might more advisedly contrive his designe, desired him to take two or three dayes to consider of and so dismiss him.

Montrose returning at the time appointed, shewed his Majesty how desperate an adventure he was undertaking; that al *Scotland* was under the Covenanters command, that they had garrisoned al places of strength that they were plentifully provided both of men and money, and armes, and ammunition, and victuall, & all things necessary for a Warre; that the English Rebels were joyned with them in a most strict Covenant to defend one another against all the world. But for his owne part he had nothing to set up with neither men, nor armes, nor pay; yet he would not distrust Gods Assistance in a righteous cause, and if the King would lay his Commands upon him he would undertake to doe his best. The King should be in no worse case then he was. He himself would take what malice, envy, or danger should fall upon himselfe, so that his Majesty were graciously pleased to condescend to a few reasonable requests. And first, that the businesse might go on more successfullly, it seemed to him very necessary that the King should send some souldiers out of *Ireland* into the west of *Scotland*. Next, that he should give order to the *Marquesse of Newcastle* (who was the General of the Kings forces towards *Scotland*) that he should assist *Montrose* with a party of horse to enter the south of *Scotland*, by which meanes he might convey himself into the heart of the Kingdome. Then, that he should deale with the King of *Denmarke* for some troops of *Germane* horse. And lastly, that his Majesty should take
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some course to procure and transport some armes out of some forraigne countrey into *Scotland*: nothing needed more but humane industry, the successe was Gods part, and to be referred to his providence. The King commending his counsell, & giving him thanks that he apprehended some life in the businesse, encourageth him to fit himselfe cheerfully for so great a worke & wished him to leave the care of those things he had requested unto him.

And truly for the matter of aid out of *Ireland*, the King sends for the Earle of *Antrim*, and acquaints him with *Montrose's* design. This *Antrim* is of Scottish extraction, descended of the noble and ancient Family of the *Mac-Donalds*, a man of great estate and power in *Ireland*, & allyed to the prime Nobility of *England*, by matching with the Duchesse of *Buckingham*. He being driven out of his own countrey lived at *Oxford*, and cheerfully undertooke the negotiation with the *Irish* upon himself, and engaged himselfe also voluntarily unto *Montrose*, that he would be in *Argyle* (a part of *Scotland* bordering upon *Ireland*) with ten thousand me by the first of *Aprill* 1644. this passed in *December* 1643. And as for forraigne aides and armes, the King sent Sir *Iohn Cockeram* his Embassadour about it with his Commission and Instructions. And directions unto the *Marquesse* of *Newcastle* were carried by some of *Montrose's* own company. Who receiving the Kings Letters and Commission to be Governour of *Scotland* and Generall of the Army there, made himselfe ready for his journey.

In the interim newes comes on a sudden, that Duke

Hamilton with his brother the Earle of *Lanericke* were posting up to *Oxford*. They, that they might make their accessse easier to the King who had hitherto given care unto their counsells, and to continue or recover the good opinion the King had of them, gave out all the way as they came, especially unto Governours of Shires and Townes, and Commanders of the Army, that they were banished their Countrey, that they had been plundered of their estates by the Covenanters for their loyalty to the King, and that for safety of their lives, (with which they had hardly escaped,) they fled to *Oxford*. But *Montrose* and those of his minde saw plainly that these were but tales of their own making, of purpose to wipe off the suspicion of this new guilt; and that by this meanes, they in confidence of that esteeme they had lately with the King, and of a strong faction they drove at Court, doubted not but they should stand as fair in his opinion as ever, if they were but once admitted into the Kings presence; and that the onely businesse they had thither, was by defeating *Montrose* againe, clearly to extinguish that little sparke of Loyalty that was not yet quite out in *Scotland*. And *Montrose* delivered himselfe freely, that for his part he would never stand by to be witnesse of so great an oversight: and therefore humbly besought the King that he would give him leave to seeke his fortune in some forraigne countrey, if these men that had deceived him so often should be received againe into favour: not that he desired any severity should be used against them, onely he wished the King might have a care that they should

should do him no more harme. The King was drawne with much a doe that they should be forbidden the Court, yet for all that he suffered the Earle of *Lanercike* to live in the City. But he (by whose instigations I cannot tell) betakes himself from *Oxford* to *London* to the Parliament of *England*, and not long after to the Scotch Army which had now entered *England*, and never since hath failed to doe them the best service he could. The escape of his brother so much moved the King, that he saw it high time to secure the Duke himself.

There were severall Scots in the Kings Court and Army who were suspected (and perhaps not without reason) to favour the Covenanters too much, and to give intelligence unto them of the Kings counsels. *Montrose* that he might put these to the touch tooke this course, He got a Protestation to be drawne up by the Kings authority, unto which all Scots who would have the reputation of honest men were to set their hands: Wherein they professed themselves heartily to detest the courses of the Covenanters, condemned especially the bringing in of an army into *England* against the King and the Lawes of the Land as an act of high treason; promised and vowed to acquit themselves of that scandall, and to the utmost of their power, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to oppose those that were guilty of that crime. This Protestation all men of honour and honesty readily tooke; but there were two, in whom the King trusted most of all Scotch men next to the *Hamiltons*, to wit, the Earle of *Trequare*, & Mr. *William Murray* of the Bed chamber, who were difficultly brought unto it

at last with much reluctancy, and fear of being discovered traitours: yet even they engaged themselves by a solemn Oath at a certain day to be aiding & assisting unto *Montrose* in *Scotland*; which Oath of theirs afterward they most unworthily violated.

This being done, and *Montrose* on his journey from *Oxford* towards *Scotland*, those that were the *Hamiltons* creatures, and other false-hearted Courtiers began to blast the Honour of *Montrose*, to call him a vaine and ambitious man who had attempted an impossible thing: to extoll above measure the power of the *Covenanters*, and that they might deterre every one from engaging himself in so noble an exploit, gave out every where most maliciously, that no good was ever to be expected from *Montrose*.

He being little troubled with the calumnies of unworthy men, came forward to *Torke* & so to *Durham*; where he sees that the Kings Instructions be sent to the *Marquesse* of *Newcastle*, and the next day they met and conferred. *Newcastle* discours't of nothing but the distresses and necessities of his Army; how the *Rebell Scots* breaking in in the midst of winter had spoiled his Recruits, and that now in farre greater numbers then he they quartered within five miles of him; that he could not possibly spare any Horse without a manifest hazard to the whole Army. *Montrose* urged on the other side, that nothing could do. *Newcastle* more service then to let him have a party of Horse (in which he was very strong) with him into *Scotland*, that so he might either divert or at least divide the enemy, and by kindling a fire in their owne houses fetch them home

me againe to defend themselves. *Newcastle* courteously replied, that assoon as he had wound himself out of that present danger, he would not be wanting in any service to *Montrose*: which promise, there is no doubt but a person of so much Honour and Loyalty would most surely have performed, had he continued any while in the Command of those parts. In the meane time, all that he could do for the present was, to afford him about one hundred Horse, but lean ones, and ill accoutred, (which was not the Generals fault but some mens private spleen) with two brasse Field-pieces.

Moreover he sent his Orders unto the Kings Officers and Commanders in *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, that they should give *Montrose* all the succour and assistance they could make for his journey into *Scotland*. *Montrose* going towards *Carlisle* was accordingly met by the *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* men, consisting of eight hundred Foot, and three troops of Horse; who according to the Marquesse of *Newcastles* Command, were to waite upon him into *Scotland*. *Montrose* himselfe brought with him two hundred Horse, most of them Noblemen and Gentlemen, and such as had been Captaines either in *Germany*, *France*, or *England*. With which small forces (nor over trusty neither) he entered *Scotland* on the 13. of *Aprill*; for he made the more hast, lest he should have been absent at the time appointed by the Earl of *Artrim*.

C H A P. III.

Montrose having entred *Scotland* had come to the river of *Anan*, when upon a mutiny among the English, occasioned by *Richard Grahams* Souldiers, almost all of them flie their Colours, and in all hast runne back to *England*. Notwithstanding he with his own men came to *Dunfrise*, and took the Towne into protection upon surrender: and there he staid a while that he might be ready to entertaine *Antrim* and his *Irish*; but the day appointed being already pass'd, there came not so much as a Messenger from them, nor the least report of them into *Scotland*. And the Covenanters gathering themselves together on every side, there was no staying there any longer for *Montrose*, without being surpris'd; therefore he returns safe to *Carlisse* with his men. And seeing he could neither procure any aid from the English, nor expect any Forraigners suddenly, nor had scarce any hopes of good from *Ireland*; and found that the Earle of *Calendar* had rais'd a new Army in *Scotland* to second General *Lesly*, who had by this time together with the English Covenanters besiged *Torke*, he resolv'd, lest he should spend his time idly, to engage himself among the Kings Forces in *Northumberland* & the *Bishoprick*; nor was that resolution either unprofitable to them, or dishonorable to himself.

For having ferretted a Garrison of the Covenanters out of the towne of *Morpeth*, he took in the Castle, permitted all the pillage unto the English, and taking an Oath of them that had held it, that they should

should never more fight against the King ; he sent them away without any greater punishment. He tooke a Fort at the mouth of the river of *Tine* from the Covenanters , (who had not long before turned out an English Garrison from thence) and dismiss the prisoners upon the same termes with those of *Marpet*. He plétifully victualled *Newcastle* with corne brought from *Alnwick* , and other places thereabouts. When this was done , he was sent for by letters from Prince *Rupert* Count Palatine of *Rhine* , who was then coming to raise the siege of *Yorke*. And although he made all the haste he could , yet he met not the Prince till he was upon his retreat the day after that unfortunate battell. And truly the Prince freely offered *Montrose* a thousand Horse to take along with him into *Scotland* , but some that were too powerfull with him dealt so with the good Prince , that the next day after that promise was made there was not one horse to be had.

All things thus failing *Montrose* from which he expected any assistance , yet his spirit never failed him : therefore returning to *Carlisle* with those few but faithfull and gallant men that stucke close to him, he sends away the Lord *Ogleby* and Sir *William Rollock* into the heart of *Scotland* in meane disguise , lest they should be discovered by the enemy. Within a fortnight they returned , & brought word that all things in *Scotland* were desperate ; all Passes, Castles , Townes, possessed with Garrisons of the Covenanters, nor could they finde any one so hardy as to dare to speake reverently or affectionately of the King. Most of those

those who had adhered to *Montrose* all this while, being cast downe with this sad newes, bethought themselves of bending their courses some other way, especially when they were tampered with by that honest man the Earle *Traquair* to desert the service: who forgetting all his vowes and imprecations he had made before the King, undertook in the name of the Covenanters, not only for Indemnity to all that should fall off unto them, but rewards and preferments too; as if he had been all this while an Agent for the Rebels, and not for the King as he pretended. And yet this man was greater in the Kings favour, and more confided in then any one except the *Hamiltons*.

Montrose calling his friends to counsell, desires them to deliver their opinions what they conceived was fittest to be done in this sad face of things.

Some advise him to repaire to the King at *Oxford*, and certifie him that his Scotch Affaires were past recovery; that *Antrim* came not with his Irish Forces, nor was there any appearance of them; that little or no assistance had been obtained from the English; and as for Armes or aid from Forraigne parts, he had not so much as heard a word of them; so that it was none of his fault that his service had no better successe.

Others were of opinion that it was better for him to excuse himself by Letters unto the King and to send up his Commission a long with them, and that he himself should step a while aside into some other Countrey till such time as it should please God

God to send better opportunities. But all agreed in this, that nothing more was to be attempted or thought of in *Scotland*.

But he himselfe onely entertained farre other thoughts in his high and undaunted spirit : He conceived himselfe bound never to forsake his dearest Lord the King though in extreamest hazards, and that it was an unworthinesse to despaire of so good a cause ; and if he should attempt some greater matter then came within the reach or apprehension of common men, he conjectured it might prove much to his owne Honour, and some thing perhaps to the Kings good too. For as it was dubious, whether it might please God in his mercy to looke upon the King with a more favourable eye, and to turne his adversity into prosperity ; so it was most certaine that if he should not be able to goe thorough with it but perish in the enterprize, he should die with Honour, and his fall should be much lamented. So resolved, and commending himselfe and his successe to the disposall and protection of Almighty God, he performed such Adventures without men, without money, without armes, as were not onely to the astonishment of us that were present, and were eye and eare witnesses of them, but also the example and envy both, of all great Commanders hereafter. What those were we shall declare by and by.

Montrase delivers those few Gentlemen that had been constant unto him to the Lord *Ogleby*, to be conducted unto the King, (for as he had communicated all his former designs unto him, so he did this also) and conjureth

conjureth him withall to deale earnestly with his Majesty for hastening of some aid, if not of Men yet of Armes at least, from beyond seas. So he accompanying them two dayes on their journey, and leaving with them his Horses, his Servants, and his Carriages, conveyed himself privily away from them, and with what speed he could came back to *Carlisle*. The company suspecting nothing of his departure, because *Ogleby* and other his dearest friends were still with them, marched on straight towards *Oxford*; but theither they never reached for most of them (of whom were the Lord *Ogleby* himself, Sir *John Innes*, & Colonell *Henry Graham* his brother, a most hopefull young Gentleman, *James, John*, and *Alexander Oglebyes*, *Patricke Melvin*, and other gallant men, and highly esteemed by *Montrose*) fell into the enemies hands, & endured a long & nasty imprisonment untill they were set at liberty by *Montrose* himself the next yeare, after which they did him most faithfull service. He returning to *Carlisle* imparts his designe to the Earle of *Aboine*, least he should have any oecasion to cavill afterwards, that a matter of that consequence was done without his knowledge or advice, who might have proved able to give a great stroke to the advancing of it. But when he found some thing too much ficklenesse in that young man, he was not over earnest to engage him to adventure with him in so perillous a journey; and therefore easily perswaded him to reside at *Carlisle* till he heard further newes out of *Scotland*, by which time it might be more seasonable for him to returne into his Countrey.

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And now being prepared for his journey, he selected onely two men for his companions and guides ; one was Sir *William Rollock*, a Gentleman of most knowne honesty, and an able man both of his head and hands. The other was one *Sibbald*, whom for the report of his valour and gallantry, *Montrose* did equally love & honour : but the latter afterwards deserted him in his greatest need. *Montrose* passing as *Sibbalds* man, & being disguised in the habit of a Groome, rode along upon a leane jade, & led another horse in his hand. And so he came to the borders where he found all ordinary and safe passes guarded by the enemy. There was a chance happened which put them in a greater fright then all that, & it was this ; not farre from the borders they hit by chance upon a servant of Sir *Richard Grahams*, who taking them for Covenanters, & to be of *Lesley's* Army who used to range about those parts, told them freely & confidently that his Master had made his peace with the Covenanters, and had undertaken (as if he were their Centinell) to discover unto them all such as came that way whom he suspected to favour the King. An unworthy act it was of a shamelesse villaine, of whom, not onely *Montrose* had a very high esteem, but his Majesty also, whose mistaken bounty had raised him out of the dunghill (to say no worse) unto the honour of Knighthood, and an estate even to the envy of his neighbours.

Having not passed much further ; they met a soldier, a Scotchman, but one that had served under the Marquesse of *Newcastle* in *England* who taking no notice of the other two Gentlemen, came to *Montrose* and saluted

salute him by his name : *Montrose* giving no heed unto him , as if he were no such man , the too officious souldier would not be so put off , but with a voyce and countenance full of humility and duty began to cry out , *What ? Do not I know my Lord Marquesse of Montrose well enough ? Goe your way, and God be with you whithersoever you goe.*

When he saw it was in vaine to conceale himself from the man , he gave him a few crownes and sent him away , nor did he discover him afterwards. But *Montrose* conceiving himselfe much concerned in these speeches , thought it the best course to make all the haste he could , and to run faster then the newes of him could flie : nor did he spare any horse flesh , or scarce draw a bridle till after foure dayes travell he came to the house of his cosen *Patrick Graham* of *Innisbrake* , not farre from the river of *Tay* on that side of the Sherifdome of *Perth* which is next the mountains. This *Patrick* being descended of the noble family of *Montrose* , and not unworthy of so noble parentage , was deservedly in very great esteeme with the Marquesse ; who so journed besides him for a little while in the day time in a meane cottage , and passed the nights alone in the neighbouring mountains. For he had sent away his companions unto his friends , that they might inform themselves exactly of the whole state of the Kingdome , and bring him word in wat condition they found it.

After a few dayes , having examined the matter with all the industry they could use , they returned with nothing but sad and tragicall newes : *That all*

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the Subjects that were honest and loyall, lay under the tyranny of the Rebels : and of such as had been so hardy as to endeavour to recover their freedome with their swords, some were put to death, others fin'd, others being yet in prison, daily expected the worst their enemies could doe ; That the Marquesse of Huntley had laid downe the armes which too unadvisedly he had taken up at the first summons of the enemy ; that indeed he had had no contemptible number of men, but the men wanted a good Commander ; that his friends and dependants were exposed to the implacable malice and revenge of their enemies, and that he himself had fled to the uttermost corner of the Land, and skulked upon another mans land. Montrose was very much troubled (as he had reason) at this newes, especially at Huntley's errour and the ruine of the Gordons, who were men of singular loyalty and valour, and expert souldiers, therefore much lamented by him, that for no fault of theirs, they should come to so great misfortune. And now he began to cast about how he might daw them to himself, that they might try againe the fortune of Warre under another Generall in the behalfe of his most excellent Majesty.

C H A P. V.

IN the meane time there were some uncertaine reports spread abroad among the Shepherds who kept their flocks in the mountaines, of certaine Irish who were landed in the North of Scotland, and ranged about the mountaines. Montrose conceived it not unlikely that these might be part of those Auxiliaries
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which

which the Earle of *Antrim* had promised should have been there four moneths before : but he had no certainty what they were, till at last some letters came from some intimate friends of his, Highlanders, and from *Alexander Mac-donell*, a Scotch-man also, to whom *Antrim* had given the Command in Chiefe of those few *Irish*, directed to *Montrose*. These they had taken care to send to a certaine friend of his, a sure man, that he might convey them if it were possible to *Carlisle*, where *Montrose* was beleev'd still to remaine. He, who never dreamed of *Montrose's* returne into *Scotland*, though he sojourn'd by him, by chance acquainted Mr. *Patricke Graham* with the businesse, he promiseth to take charge of them, and undertaketh to see them safely delivered to *Montrose*, though he made a journey as farre as *Carlisle* of purpose ; and so by the good providence of God they came into his hands much sooner then could be expected. And he writes backe, as from *Carlisle*, that they should be of good comfort, for they should not stay long either for sufficient assistance to joyn with them, or a Generall to command them ; & withall requires them forthwith to come down into *Athole*.

The people of *Athole* were engag'd unto *Montrose* by many obligations, men whom he valued most of all the Highlanders, both for their Loyalty, Piety, Constancy, and singular Valour ; and truly they made good his opinion of them to the very end of the Warre. The *Irish*, with a very few Highlanders who were almost all of *Badeneth*, receiving *Montrose's* commands, march'd straight into *Athole*, He, who

was

was not above twenty miles from them ; comes to them immediately, and or ever they looked for him, on foot, in the habit of a Mountanier, without any man along with him save the abovesaid *Patricke Graham* his guide and companion. And indeed the Irish would hardly be perswaded that that was *Montrose* ; but wen they saw him so saluted, and onely not adored like some great Deity, by the men of *Athole* and others that knew him well, they were overjoyed : for his coming to them was in exceeding good time, they being then in extreame danger to be cut off. For *Argyle* was in their reare with a strong and well ordered Army, the champaine countrey were ready in armes before them, expecting if they should make downe into the Plaine, to trample them to dirt with their horses hooves ; the vessels that brought them over were burnt by *Argyle*, that they might have no way to retreat ; nor would the *Athole* men or any other that favoured the King venture any hazard with them, because they were strangers and came not by the Kings open and known Authority ; nor had they any Commander of ancient Nobility, a thing by the Highlanders much set by, who would not fight under the command of *Alexander Mac-donell*, a man of no account with them : lastly their number was inconsiderable, being not above eleven hundred, though ten thousand had been promised.

The next day, the *Athole* men to the number of eight hundred put themselves in armes, & offered their service most cheerfully to *Montrose*, who having got his

handfull of men and earnestly commending his most righteous Cause to the protection of Almighty God, now desired nothing more then to be among the thickest of the enemy. Impatient therefore of further delay, that very day he marches through the Plains of *Athole* towards *Ern*; as well to make way for his friends and assistants easier access unto him (if any should rise upon the newes) as that he might fall upon and amaze the Rebels unlook't for, before they should be able to joyn together who lay at distance. Therefore passing by *Weme* a castle of the *Menises*, seeing they handled a Trumpeter whom he sent friendly unto them unworthily, and fell hotly upon the reare of his Army, he wastes their fields, and causes all their houses and corn to be fired; this was at the very first onset of the Warre, to strike terrour into the enemy. The same night he passed over *Tay*, the greatest river in *Scotland*, with part of his Forces; the rest follow him, very early the next day. When they were ready to march on, he gave *Patrick Graham* (of whom I shall haue often to speak, & never without honour) at their earnest request the Command of the *Athole* men, & sent him with the nimblest of them he could pick out amongst them to scout before. He brings word he saw some souldiers drawne up on the top of an hill at *Buckinb* towards them *Montrose* makes straight. These proved to be commanded by the Lord *Kilpont* son to the Earle of *Taith*, a man of ancient Nobility, and descended of the *Grahams*; and Sir *John Drummond*, sonne to the Earle of *Perth*, a kinsman also of *Montrose*; who were both of them summoned by the Covenanters to joyn

joyne against the Irish as the Common enemy, and had with them five hundred Foot and no more; nor had they heard any certainty at all of *Montrose's* being in those parts. He resolveth with all speed to surprise them, and either to winne them to his side or to crush them to pieces. But they as soone as they heard that *Montrose* was Generall of those Forces, send unto him some of their chiefeest friends to understand from him what he intended to doe. He tells them he had the Kings Authority for what he did, and was resolved to assert that Authority to the utmost of his power, against a most horrid Rebellion, conjuring them by all the obligations that were betweene them, that they would not thinke much to doe their best endeavours for the best of Kings. Which as it was much becoming their high birth, and would be very acceptable service to the King, so it would be beneficiall unto them for the present, and much to their honour with posterity and strangers, if they of all others should be the first that put to their helping hands to hold up a tottering Crowne. They most readily without any delay came in unto him; for both of them though underhand favoured the King exceedingly.

From them *Montrose* understood that the Covenanters were thick in armes at a Rendezvouz at *Perth* (the second City to *Edinburgh*) and there waited for their enemies falling down from *Athole*. He knowing also that *Argyle* with his Army was upon his backe, lest he should be hem'd in on both sides, determines to goe forward to *Perth*, that there he might either force

the enemy to fight, or reduce the Towne to the Kings obedience. Marching therefore three miles from *Buckinsh*, and allowing the Souldiers but a short time of refreshment, at the breake of day he drawes out his men. Nor was he above three miles more from the City, whem the enemy was in view in a large and open Plain (called *Tippermore*) providing to fight. They were commanded by the Lord *Elchoe*, one that was taken for no great souldier: there were with him the Earle of *Tullibardin*, and the Lord *Drummond*, but this latter (as was conceived) against his will, for he & his fathers whole family favoured the King in their hearts: Knights he had with him good store, among whom Sir *James Scot* (who heretofore had done good service under the State of *Venice*) was the most noted souldier. They had six thousand Foot & seven hundred Horse, and in confidence of their numbres, they had even devoured their enemies before they saw them. It was on Sunday the first of *September*, & it was given in charge to their Ministers, that in set Speeches they should encourage the people to fight, not forgetting to minde them of their most holy Covenant forsooth. And to give them their due they plyed their lungs stoutly in the performance of that worke; they most freely promised them in the name of Almighty God an easie and unbloudy victory; nay, there was one *Frederick Carmiohael*, one very much cryrd up for learning and holinesse by the silly people, who was not afraid to deliver this passage in his Sermon, *If ever God spake word of truth out of my mouth, I promise you in his name assured victory this day.*

Gods

Gods service being thus finely performed as they thought, they put their men in *Battalia*. *Elchoe* himself commanded the right flank, *Sir James Scot* the left, and the *Eare of Tullebardin* the battell. To the right and left flanks were added wings of horse, with which they made no doubt on so faire a Plaine to hemme in the enemy. *Montrose* perceiving the great body of the enemy, and especially their strength in Horse, (for he had not so much as one Horse-man, nor more then three leane horses) and being carefull (as it concerned him) lest being incompassed with so great a number, they should fall upon him in the Front, Reare and Flanke; he caused his Army to be drawne out to as open order as could be possible, and makes his Files onely three deep. He commands the Ranks all to discharge at once, those in the first Ranke kneeling, in the second stooping, and in the hindmost, where he placed the tallest men, upright: he chargeth them also to have a care of mis-spending their powder, of which they had so small store, and that they should not so much as make a shot till they came to the very teeth of their enemies; & as soone as they had discharged their muskets once a piece, immediately to breake in upon the enemy with their swords & musket ends; which if they did, he was very confident the enemy would never endure the charge. *Montrose* undertakes the Command of the right Flanke over against *Sir James Scot*, appoints the left to the Lord *Kilpont*, & the maine Battell to *Mac-donell* with his Irish: vvhich vvas very providently ordered, lest the Irish vvho vv ere, neither used to fight vvith long Pikes nor vv ere furnished vvith

with swords, if they had been placed on either flank should haue beene exposed to the fury of the Scotch Horse.

Montrose had sent unto the Commanders of the enemy, Drummond sonne and heire to the Lord Mardert, a noble Gentleman, and accomplished with all kinde of vertues, who declared in his name, *That Montrose, as well as the Kings Majesty from whom he had received his Commission, was most tender of shedding his Countreyes blood, and had nothing more in his deuotions, then that his victories might be written without a red Letter. And such a victory they might obtaine as well as he, if they should please but to have the honour to conquer themselves, and before a stroke were stricke to returne unto their Allegiance. That for his part he was covetous of no mans wealth thirsty after no mans blood; all that he desired was, that in the name of God they would at length give eare to sound counsell, and submit themselves and what belonged unto them unto the grace and protection of so good a King: who as he had hitherto condescended unto all things (either for matter of Religion or anything else) which they thought good to aske, though to the exceeding great prejudice of his Prerogative; so still they might finde him like an indulgent Father ready to embrace his penitent children in his armes, although he had been provoked with unspeakable injuries. But if they should continue still obstinate in their Rebellion, he called God to witnesse, that it was their own stubbornesse that forced him to the present encounter.*

The Commanders of the enemies answered nothing at all to all this, but against the Law of Nations

ons sent the Messenger (who out of meere love to his Countrey had undertaken the employment) prisoner with a company of rude souldiers unto *Perth*, vowing assoone as they had got the victory to cut off his head. But God was more mercifull to him, and provided otherwise then they intended, for the safety of that gallant man.

They were come within musket shot when the enemies under the Command of the Lord *Drummond* sent out a forlorne - hope to provoke *Montrose* to a light skirmish: he sends a few to meet them, who at the first onset disorder and rout them, sending them backe to their maine body in no small fright. *Montrose* thought now was his opportunity, and that nothing could conduce more either to the encouragement of his owne souldiers, or the terrour of the enemy, then immediately to fall upon them as they were disordered and astonished with that fresh blow, nor would he give them time to rally or recover courage: therefore setting up a great shout, he lets loose his whole Army upon them. The enemy first at distance discharge their Ordnance, which made more noise then they did harme, afterwards marching forward, their Horse labour to breake in upon *Montrose's* Souldiers; those when their powder was spent, and many of them had neither Pikes nor scarce Swords, they stoutly entertaine with such weapons as the place would afford, good stones; of which they poured in such number amongst them with so great strength and courage, that they forced them to retreat and to trouble them no more. For the Irish and Highlanders

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striving

striving bravely whether should out vie the other in valour, bore up so eagerly when they gave ground, that at last they betooke themselves to the nimbleness of their Horses heeles. There was something more to do a little while longer in the right Flanke. Sir *James Scot* disputed some time for the higher ground, but *Montrose's* men being stronger bodied, & especially swifter footmen obtained the Hill; from thence the *Athole* me rushed downe with their drawne swords upon the enemy, and making little account of the musquetiers, who sent their bullets amongst them as thicke as haile, closing with them (as they lik't best to fight) they slash't and beat them downe. At last the enemy notable to abide their fury, fairely ran away. Most of the Horse made so good speed as to save themselves; but there was a great slaughter of the Foot, whom they pursued for six or seven miles. There were conceived to be two thousand of the Covenanters slain, and more were taken prisoners; of whom some taking a Military Oath, took up arms again with the Conquerour; but perfidiously, for almost all forsooke him afterwards. The rest taking a solemn Protestation that they would never after beare armes against the King, he set at liberty. He tooke in *Perth* the same day, without doing the least harme unto the City, although most of the Citizens had fought against him in this battell; thinking by so great clemency to turne the hearts of the people towards their King, vvhich vvas the onely end to vvhich he directed all his designs.

HE staid three dayes at *Perth*, for there he expected many in those parts to come in with their friends and clients armed, who upon the noise of the late victory professed themselves most faithfull to the King; but none came but the Earle of *Kinoule* with a few gentlemen of *Gawry*, nor did they continue very constant unto him neither. And by this time *Argyle* was at hand with a great Army of Foot of his owne, & supplies of Horse were joyned with him out of the South parts; therefore *Montrose* passing over *Tay* tooke up his Quarters in the field (for other quarters he seldom had) near *Couper* a little village in *Angus*, where a famous Monastery once stood, but now lies on the ground. Here a brave young gentleman, *Sir Thomas Ogilby* sonne to the Earle of *Arley*, with others of the Gentry of *Angus*, met him, & readily offered him their service; whom he courteously entertained, and sent them away with thanks, they pretending they onely went to fit themselves for a march, neverthelesse few of them returned besides the *Ogilbies*.

Next morning by breake of day before the *Revellier* was beat there was a great tumult in the Camp, the Souldiers ranne to their armes, & fell to be wilde and raging; *Montrose* guesing that it was some falling out between the Highlanders & the Irish, thrust himselfe in amongst the thickest of them: there he findes a most horrible murder newly committed, for the noble Lord *Kilpontin* lay there basely slaine. The murderer was a retainer of his owne, one *Stuart*, whom he had treated with much friendship and familiarity, in so much that that same night they lay both in a bed.

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It is reported that the base slave had a plot to dispatch *Montrose*, and in regard of the great power he had with *Kilpontin*, he conceived he might draw him in to be accessory to the villany, therefore taking him aside into a private place, he had discovered unto him his intentions; which the Nobleman highly detested, as was meet; where upon the murtherer fearing he would discover him, assaulted him unawares, & stabbed him with many wounds, who little suspected any harme from his friend and creature. The treacherous assassine by killing a Centinel escaped, none being able to pursue him, it being so darke that they could scarce see the ends of their Pikes. Some say the traitor was hired by the Covenanters to doe this, others onely that he was promised a reward if he did it. Howsoever it was, this is most certaine that he is very high in their favour unto this very day, and that *Argyle* immediately advanced him (though he was no souldier) to great commands in his Army. *Montrose* was very much troubled with the losse of this Nobleman, his deare friend, and one that had deserved very well both frō the King & himself, a mā famous for arts & armes, and honesty, being a good Philosopher, a good Divine, a good Lawyer, a good Souldier, a good Subject, & a good man: And embracing the breathlesse body againe & againe with sighes & teares, he delivers it to his sorrowfull friends and servants to be carried to his parents to receive its funetall Obsequies as became the splendor of that honourable Family.

With the rest of his Forces *Montrose* marcheth to *Dundee*: the Towne being proud of the number.

ber of its inhabitants, and having a Garrison out of *Fife* beside, refused to submit. And he, thinking it no wisdom to hazard the honour he had gotten by his late victory upon the doubtfull successe of a siege, turnes away toward *Eske*; for he hoped that many of his friends and kindred, being men of greatest note in those parts, and who used to talke as highly what they would doe for the King as any others, would be ready to joyne with him.

But they having newes of his approach withdrew themselves: onely the Lord *Ogleby Airley*, a man of threelcore yeares old, (with his two sons, Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *David*, and some of his friends and clients, men of experienced resolutions) joyned himsele unto him: and with admirable constancy he went along with him through all fortunes unto the very end of the Warre; being in that almost universall defection, the other honour and ornament of the Nobility of *Scotland* besides *Montrose*.

While *Montrose* was hereabouts, he receives intelligence that some Commissioners from the Covenanters (of whom the Lord *Burghly* was the principall) lay at *Aberdene* with an Army, and laboured to assure unto themselves the Northerne parts, upon which *Montrose* especially relyed, either by faire meanes or foule. He determines to fight these immediately before *Argyle* could come up to them, therefore with long marches he hies thither; and possessing himsele of the bridge upon the river of *Dee*, and drawing neare the City, he found the enemy drawn up close beside it. *Burghley* commanded two thousand Foot, and
five

five hundred Horse whom he placed in wings ; & having chosen his ground, & planted his great Guns before his men, he expected battell. *Montrose* had fifteene hundred Foot (for the Lord *Kilpontins* souldiers were gone to convey their Lords dead body to his parents, and most of the *Athole* men after the victory of *Perth* were gone home, from whence they were not farre, laden with spoile,) and just foure and forty Horse, of whom he made two divisions , and mixing amongst them the best fire-men and Archers that he had (who in nimbleness and swiftnesse of body were almost as good as horsemen) placed them on either wing, to prevent the falling of the enemies Horse upon his rere ; which they performed most gallantly beyond the opinion or perhaps the beliefe of many.

He gave the command of the right flank to *James Hay* and *Nathaniel Gordon*, and of the left to *Sir William Rollock* , all valiant men. The left wing of the enemy was commanded by *Lewis Gordon* , sonne to the Marquesse of *Huntley* , a bold young man and hor spirited, but haire brain'd and one that had forced out his fathers friends and clients to fight with *Montrose* against their wills. He having gotten the plaine and most commodious ground for fighting on horse-backe charged *Montrose's* right flank : which when he perceived, he commanded *Rollock* with his twenty Horse to their aid ; and they , being backed with the gallantry of their Commanders, and the activity and stoutnesse of the Foot amongst them , received the charge with so much hardinesse , that they foure and forty beat backe full three hundred of the enemy routing

routing all and killing very many. But because they were so few they durst not follow the chase : which was forborne by the great prudence of the Commanders , and proved to be of great consequence towards the obtaining of the victory : for the enemy charged *Montrose's* left Flanke vvhich had no Horse vvith their right Wing of Horse. *Montrose* therefore in atrice (now that *Lewis Gordon* and his men vvere fled) conveys the same Horse to the left Flanke ; vvho seeing they vvere not able to dravv themselves into a Body like the enemies, fetch't a compasse about , & so escaped their first charge ; then nearly vvheeling about they fall upon the Flanke of the enemy, & vvith their naked svvords, beat , and cut , and vanquish, and put them to flight. They tooke prisoners on *Forbes* of *Kragevar*, a Knight of great esteem vvith the enemy, and another *Forbes* of *Boindle*. Those that retreated got safe away , because that so few could not safely pursue them. They that commanded the enemies Horse vvere not so much frightened vvith their losse as vexed vvith the disgrace of a double repulse, therefore imputing their defeat to those light fierelockes that vvere mixed vvith *Montrose's* Horse, they themselves call for Foot-men out of their maine Body intending to returne vvith greater courage. *Montrose* suspected that, & vvvas loath to engage those fevv gallant men againe, vvwhose Horses vvere spent already in tvvo sharp services, vvith the enemy vvho vvvas reinforced vvith fresh Foot. Therefore observing the enemies Horse not yet railed since their nev v rout, & stāding at a sufficient distance frō their Foot ; hee rode about among his ovvne Foot, vvho

who had been sore galled already with the Enemies Ordnance) and bespeaks them to this effect:

We doe no good (my fellow Souldiers) while we dispute the matter at thus much distance, except we close up with them how shall we know an able man from a weake, a valiant man from a coward? If ye would assaile these timorous and brawnelesse shrimps with handy blowes, they will never be able to stand you. Goe to therefore, fall about them with your Swords and butt-end of your Muskets, beat them downe, drive them backe, and make them pay what is justly due for their treason and rebellion.

It was not sooner said, then they fall to worke, breake in upon the Enemy, defeate them, rout them. Their Horse who expected Foot to come and line them, seeing them all run away, ran faster then they: whom the conquerours were not able to follow much lesse to overtake, so they scap't scot-free; but the Foot paid for all, few of which escaped the Victors hands. For having no other place to fly unto but into the City, *Montrose's* me came in thronging amongst them through the gates and posternes, and laid them on heaps all over the streets. They fought foure houres upon such equall termes, that it was an even lay whether had the oddes. At this Battell *Montrose* had some great Guns, but they were unserviceable, because all advantages of ground were possessed by the enemy; but the enemies Guns made no small havock of his men. Among others, there was an Irishman that had his legge shot off with a Cannon bullet, onely it hung by a little skin; he seeing his fellow-souldiers something sad at his mischance, with a loud and cheerfull voyce cries out, *Come on, my Camerades, this is but the fortune of Warre, and neither you nor I have reason to be*
sorry

sorry for it. Doe you stand to it as becomes you, and as for me, I am sure my Lord Marquesse, seeing I can no longer serve on foot, will mount me on horsebacke: So dravv-ing out his knife, being nothing altered nor troubled, he cut asunder the skin with his owne hand, and gave his legge to one of his fellow-souldiers to bury. And truly when he was well againe, and made a Trooper, he often did very faithfull and gallant service. This battell was fought at *Aberdene* on the twelfth day of September, 1644. Then *Montrose* calling his souldiers back to their Colours entered the City, and allowed them two dayes rest.

C H A P. VII.

IN the meane time newes is brought that *Argyle* was hard by with much greater forces then those they dealt with last, the Earle of *Lothion* accompaning him with fifteen hundred Horse. Therefore *Montrose* removes from *Aberdene* to *Kintora* Village ten miles off, that he might make an easier accessse unto him for the *Gordons* (the friends and dependants of the Marquesse of *Huntley*) and others that were supposed much to favour the Kings cause. From thence he sends Sir *William Rollocke* to *Oxford*, to acquaint his Majesty with the good successe he had hitherto obtained, and to desire supplies out of *England* or some place else.

That he had fought twice indeed very prosperously, but it could not be expected that seeing he was so beset on all sides with great and numerous Armies, he should be able to hold out alwayes without timely reliefe. Still nothing troubled *Montrose* more, then that none of the *Gordons*, of whom he conceived great hopes, came in unto him.

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And there wanted not some of them, who testified their great affection to the service, but that *Huntley* the Chief of the Family, being a backe-Friend to *Montrose*, had with held them all, either by his owne example, or private directions; and that himselfe being forced to sculk in the utmost border of the Kingdom, envied that honour to another of which he had missed himselfe, and had forbidden, even with threats, all those with vvhom he had any power to have any thing to doe vvith *Montrose*, or to assist him either vvith their power or counsell. Which when he understood, he resolved to withdraw his Forces into the Mountains & Fastnesses, vvhere he knew the enemies Horse (wherein their great strength consisted) could doe them little service; and of their Foot (if they were never so many) relying upon the Iustice of his cause, and the valour of his Souldiers, he made but little reckoning. Therefore he hid his Ordnance in a bogge, and quitted all his troublesome and heavy carriages. And coming to the side of the River of *Spey*, not farre from an old Castle called *Rothmurke*, he incamped there: with an Army, if one respected the number but very smal, but it was an expert & cheerful one, & now also some thing acquainted with victory.

On the other side of the *Spey*, he findes the men of *Cathnes*, and *Suderland*, and *Rosse*, and *Murray*, and others to the number of five thousand up in Armes to hinder his passage over the swiftest River in all *Scotland*, till such time as *Argyle* who marched after him was upon his backe. Being oppressed, and as it were besieged with so many enemies on every side, that

at least he might save himselfe from their Horse, he turned into *Badenoth*, a rocky and mountainous Countrey, and scarce passable for Horse. There for certaine dayes he was very sicke, which occasioned so immoderate joy to the Covenanters, that they doubted not to give out he was quite dead, and to ordaine a day of publique Thankesgiving to Almighty God for that great deliverance. Nor were their Levites you may be sure backward in that employment in their Pulpits; for as if they had been of counsell at the Decree, and stood by at the execution, they assured the people that it was as true as Gospell, that the Lord of Hostes had slaine *Montrose* with his owne hands. But this joy did not last them long, for he recovered in a short space; and as if he had been risen from the dead, he frightened his Enemies much more then he had done before. For as soon as his disease would give him leave, he returned into *Athole*, and sent away *Mac-donell* with a party unto the Highlanders, to invite them to take up Armes with him; and if they would not be invited to force them. He himselfe goes into *Angus*, hoping it might happen that he should either force *Argyle* with his tyred Horse unto his Winter quarters, or at least leave him farre enough behinde him.

For *Argyle* had pursued him so slowly, and at such distance, that it was apparent he thought of nothing lesse then of giving him Battell. Therefore going through *Angus*, & getting over the *Grainsbatne* (which going along with a perpetual ridge from East to West, divideth *Scotland* into two equall parts) he returned into the North of the Kingdome. And now that

he had left *Argyle* so farre behind him, that he might safely take some time to recruit, he went to *Strathbogy*, that he might meet with the *Gordons*, & perswade them to engage with him. But he lost his labour, for they were fore stalled by *Huntley*, and after his example plaid least in fight. For such as were generous & daring spirits, though they were loath to provoke the indignation of their Chief, yet they could not but be ashamed, that at a time when there might be so much use of them they did nothing. Besides the Lord *Gordon*, *Huntley's* eldest sonne (a man of singular worth and accomplishment) was detained by *Argyle* his Uncle by the Mothers side : the Earle of *Aboine* the second Son was inclosed within the siege of *Carlisle* and *Lewes* another Son was of the Enemies side ; so that there was no one of *Huntley's* family under whose authority they should take up Armes.

Norwithstanding *Montrose* quartered there a great while; in which time almost every other night marching seven, or eight, or ten miles with a party of light Foot (for Horse he had few or none) he used to give Alarmes to the Enemy, beat up their quarters, put them to flight, and frequently to bring home Horse and Men Prisoners. And because he alwayes brought his men safe off, it was strange to see how cheerfull & daring his Souldiers were; so that though their number was not great, there was nothing that he would lead them on unto that seemed great to them. At last when he despaired of any good to be done with the *Gordons*, at the end of *October* he removed from *Strathbogy*, and came to *Fairy Castle* and possesst it. There he

was

was like to have been utterly undone by the bad and false intelligence his scouts in whom he put great confidence brought unto him concerning the Enemy: for those whom they perswaded him were scarce got over *Grainsbaine* were on a sudden encamped within two miles of him. *Argyle* and *Lothian* had there two thousand five hundred Foot, & twelve hundred Horse *Montrose*, now when *Mac-donell* was absent with a party, had fifteen hundred Foot and about fifty Horse. If he should have descended into the Plain with so small strength it had been madnesse; and to keep a Castle (and no strong one neither) he thought dishonourable, and derogatory to the credit of his late victories. Therefore he bethought himself of another course, he drawes his Men up unto a higher hill vvhich over-look't the Castle. The soile of the Hill vvas rough, and there vvere hedges also and ditches cast up there by the Husbandmen for the fences of their Fields, vvhich vvere almost as usefull as Breast-vvorks. But before he had appointed every one his ground to dravv up in, those fevv of *Huntley's* dependants vvhich accompanied *Montrose* from *Strathbogy*, in the sight of all people fairly betooke them to their heels. And on the other side, the Enemy driving fiercely up the Hill, made themselves masters of no small part of it; vvhich if they had been able to maintaine vwith the same vigour that they had obtained it, *Montrose* had been a lost man: vvhose Souldiers, discouraged both by the timorous flight of some of their owne, and the multitude of their Enemies forces, were wel neare ready to turne their backs; them *Mont*

trofe presently put life and courage into by his ovvn example and presence , by putting them in minde of their former atchievements , and their ovvn sence of their vvonted provvesse. Moreover he thus bespake a young Irish Gentleman , one Colonell O Kyan , *Go thy way , O Kyan with such men as thou hast at hand , and drive me those fellows out of yonder Ditches that we may be no more troubled with them.* The gallantry of O Kyan *Montrose* had often seen and commended , nor did that truly valiant Man deceive the Generalls opinion of him ; for he quickly ferretted the Enemy out of the Ditches , though they much out-nubred his men, and vvere seconded vvith a party of Horse. And not onely so , but gained some bagges of Povvder vvhich the Enemy had left behinde them for haste , a very feasonable pray, of vvhich they had great need. Nor doth a notable example of the forwardnesse of the Souldiers seem to me unvvorthy in this place to be remembered ; for one of them looking upon the bagges of Povvder, *What (saith he) have they given us no Bullets? Mary but we must fetch Bullets too from those sparing distributors of Ammunition.* As if it had been altogether the Enemies duty to provide the necessaries for the Warre.

In the meane time his Horse (which were but fifty) being disposed in a place of danger, he timely secured them by lining them with Musketiers. For *Lothain* charged them with five whole troops, who before they had crossed over half a Field that lay between them, being scared with our shot wheel'd about, and returned to the place from whence they came. *Montrose's* men being encouraged with these two successes could

could hardly be kept of from falling on with a shout upon the whole body of the Enemy : whom *Montrose* refraines rather with a kind of commendatiō of them (as was meet) then reproof, only bids every one know his own duty and vwait his commands. Towards night. *Argyle* having done nothing to any purpose, retreats two miles off, and slept not that night. But the next day, vwhen he vvas told that *Montrose's* Souldiers had great scarcity of Powder and Bullet, drawing his men into the same ground againe, he made as though he vwould have charged up the hill and beaten *Montrose* out of his hold. But vwhen his heart failed him in that enterprise, besides some skirmishes betveeen small parties vwhile the main bodies kept their ground, there vvas nothing done that day neither. All this while *Montrose* sends for all dishes, and flaggons, and chamber-pots, and what other pewter vessels could be had, and caused them to be melted into Bullet; yet when that was done the Souldiers had not enough. With which great inconvenience the Souldiers were so litte troubled, that one as often as he made a shot (which he presumed never missed) he would say merrily to his Camerades. *As sure as can be I have broken one Traytors face with a Chamber-Pot.* Nor wil any one wonder if *Montrose's* men were oft in want of Powder and other necessities for Warre, when he considers they had no other vway to supply themselves vvith them, but out of their Enemies stocke. And novv the second day being almost spent, *Argyle* vvithdrawes his men over the river, the way that they came three Scotch miles (vvhich make one dutch mile) off.

The time was thus spent at *Fairvy* for severall dayes, *Argyle* carrying nothing away with that great Army, but disgrace among his friends, and contempt among his enemies; for it was wholly imputed to his cowardise that there he had not made an absolute conquest.

At last *Montrose* (least by marching away in the day time he might have some of his Rear cut off by the Enemies Horse) takes the advantage of the night to returne to *Strathbogy*: were he intended to make some stay, both because the cragginessse of the Countrey was a good security to his Souldiers against the incursions of the Enemies Horse; and because it was near those places from whence he dayly expected *Mac-donell* with vvhath Highlanders he could raise. The next day the Enemy pursues him vvith an intention to force him to fight vvith them in the open Field: and truly assoone as they came in sight of them, drawing up their Men they made ready to Battell, as if they would have fallen on vvith all their Power. But a forlorne hope of Highlanders was sent before by *Argyle* to engage *Montrose* in a light skirmish, who were manfully entertained and repulsed. Then *Montrose* having possessed himselfe of the highest ground, *Argyle* alters his resolution, & thinkes upon that which was more safe and lesse honourable.

He desires a Cessation, proposes that engagements may be given on both sides for a Conference & Treaty; yet at the same time, he did not onely tempt the Souldiers to forsake *Montrose* by promising them indemnity & rewards to boot; but (which is a shame to say even of an enemy) set a great price upon *Montrose's* head

head, to be paid unto any affassine or murtherer that should bring it in. Of which, when *Montrose* was well assured, (who well knew the disposition of the man to be more bent to overreach and betray, then to fight with his enemy) he thought nothing concerned him more, then with all speed to bring of those small Forces he had as farre as he could, both from *Argyle's* Hise and knavery.

Therefore calling a counsell of Warre, he declares his opinion, they all approve his wisdom, and promise to continue their fidelity and their best endeavours to serve him. Therefore he resolveth upon a long march the next night, as farre as *Badanoch*; and that the Souldiers might be lighter for so great a journey, he sent the Carriages before with a guard, & bid the souldiers make themselves ready against the next day, as if they were to fight. And now the Carriages were on the way, when on a sudden newes came that *Forbes of Cregaver*, a prisoner (to whom upon the engagement of his Honour for his true imprisonment *Montrose* had given the liberty of the Camp) and that *Sibbalds*, who besides *Rollock* was onely of his counsell and company when he came out of *England*, and some others, had made an escape and run away to the enemy. He was troubled at the perfidiousnesse of the men, and justly suspected that they, to ingratiate themselves with the enemy, would betray his counsells. Therefore he straight called back the Convoy with the Carriages, & seemed as if he had wholly altered his resolutions. But indeed he altered them not, but thought it fit to delay them for a time, that the intelligence which the

Enemy received from his fugitives might appear unto them idle and uncertain. But after four dayes he sent the Carriages away again before him, & making fires through all the Camp, he placed all the Horse he had wvithin view of the Enemy, as if they kept their guard there, till such time as the Foot vvvere marched farre enough from danger and then brought the Horse also safe off, and all by break of day came to *Balveny*. And novv being safe from having their quarters beaten up by the Enemies Horse, and they no further pursuing, it being also the very deep of vvinter he allowved a fevv dayes unto the refreshment of his Souldiers. And at this time especially *Arg yle* began to appear in his owne Colours and his subtilties vvvere manifested. For most of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, & prime souldiers that were vvith *Montrose* (vvho setting aside Irishmen and Highlanders, had more Commanders then private Souldiers in his Army) deserted him, and fell off to *Arg yle*. Some of them pretended sicknesse, others disability to make such long marches in winter time over mountains uninhabited, unpassable, full of nothing but stoness & bryars, for the most part deep in snov, and never travelled over by any man alive. And therefore sore against their wills, as they said, and being compelled to depart by an extream necessity, they desired his Passe: which he denyed to none that ask't; but yet look't upon them rather with a kinde of indignation & scorn, then approbation or compassion.

Nor can one easily say how much the example of such mē weakened his Forces, & how much it disheartened many that intended to have listed themselves under

under his Command. But the old Lord *Ogleby* the Earl of *Airly*, a man of threescore years old, and now very healthy neither, together with two of his Sons most worthy of such a Father, *Sir Thomas* & *Sir David*, could never be perswaded even in the extreamest hazard of their lives to depart from him.

CHAP. VIII.

M*ontrose* returning from *Balveny* to *Badenoth* met a very faithful intelligencer, who gave him notice that *Argyle* with his Foot (for his Horse were gone to their Winter quarters) lay at *Dunkeldon*, and that from thence he used all his industry to perswade the *Athole* men to revolt. He, although he was assured of their loyalty, nevertheless with incredible hast goes down into *Athole*. For in one night he marched with his Forces four and twenty Miles, through vwayes untrodden, untilled, full of Snow, vvasse, and never inhabited by mortall man, to the intent he might fall upon *Argyle* whiles he had not his Horse about him. But he being frightened with the report of his coming, when *Montrose* was yet sixteen Miles off, bid his men shift for themselves, and he himself fled as fast as he could into *Perth*, wherein the Covenanters had a strong Garrison. *Mac-donell* vvas by this time returned, and brought along with him the Chief of the *Mac-venalds* with his men to the number of five hundred: and *Montrose* himself added to that number *Patrick Graham* with some choice men of *Athole*.

Being recruited with these, he marcheth to the lake
out of

of which the river of *Tay* breaks forth, to passe from thence through *Bradalbaine* into the Country of *Argyle*; for he thought an enemy could never be so happily overthrown as in his own Countrey. And truly he had many strong reasons for that resolution. In the first place, *Argyle's* power and authority among the *Highlanders* rendered him formidable to his Peers and neighbours, and so conduced much both to raise and foment the whole *Rebellion*: For assoon as any one adventured to oppose the *Covenanters*, or dispute their Commands, presently *Argyle* gathering a tumultuous army of five or six thousand *Highlanders* (who for all that served him against their wils) crush'd him to pieces; and therefore he had all the reason in the world to bring down the power of so seditious, and covetous, and cruell a man. Moreover, those *Highlanders* who did not only favour the *Kings* cause, but hated *Argyle* heartily, as having had sufficient experience of his Tyranny, durst not appeare as they would till he was first subdued. And lastly, the *Low-lands* of the *Kingdome* were maintained by the *Covenanters* with strong *Garrisons*, and great bodies of *Horse*; so that except he had a minde utterly to undoe his friends, he had no other place to winter his *Souldiers* in but that. And being pressed with these reasons; with long and foule journeys, and incredible speed he cometh into *Argyle*.

The *Earl* at that time was listing souldiers in his Country, and had appointed the day and place for a *Rendezvouz*. He lived securely in the *Castle* of *Junear*, supposing no enemy to be within a hundred miles of him. For he could never before be brought to believe that an Army could get into *Argyle* on foot in the midst of summer, & many times heretofore he has been heard

heard to bragge, that he had rather lose a hundred thousand Crownes, then any mortall man should know the way by which an Army could enter into his Countrey. When he therefore suspected nothing lesse, the trembling Cow-herds came downe from the hills, & told him the enemy was within two miles. He not knowing what to do, and almost besides himself for fear, at last commits himself to a fisher-boat, and flies away; leaving his friends, and servants, and the whole Countrey to their fortunes, and the mercy of an enemy. It is a rough and mountainous Countrey barren of corn, for little or none is sown there, but very commodious for pasture, the chief riches of the inhabitants consisting in cattell. *Montrose* divides his Army into three Brigades, and sends the about the Countrey; one Brigade was commanded by the Chief of the *Mac-renalds*, another by *Mac-donel*, and the third by himself. They range about all the Country, and lay it waste; as many as they finde in armes going to the Rendezvous appointed by their Lord they slay, and spare no man that was fit for warre: nor do they give over till they had driven all serviceable men out of that Territory, or at least into holes knowne to none but themselves. Then they fire the villages and Cottages, & lay them leuell with the ground: in that retaliating *Argyle* with the same measure he had meted unto others, who was the first in all the Kingdome, that prosecuted his Country-men with fire and sword. Lastly, they drive their cattell. Nor did they deal more gently with others who lived in *Lorn*, and the neighbour parts, that acknowledged *Argyle's* power. These things

things lasted from the 13. of December 1644. to the 28. or 29. of January following.

And indeed, he used never more to acknowledge the singular providence & fatherly mercy of Almighty God then in bringing him & his men safe out of those places; for if but two hundred Souldiers had handsomely kept those Passes, they might easily either have cut off or at least driven back all his Forces. Besides, if the Cow-herds had but driven away their cattell which they might easily have done) in those barren places he must have starved for hunger. Or thirdly, if it had been a sharp and stormy winter, (and it seldome chances to be otherwise there) they had either been drowned in snowdrifts, or starv'd and benumb'd with cold. But merciful God took away both courage from the enemy, and its ordinary temper from the air; & supplied their want of bread with great abundance of flesh. At length departing out of *Argyle* and passing through *Lorn-Glencow*, & *Aber*, he came to *Logh-Nesse*. And now he expected that all the Highlanders being either frightened with the example of *Argyle*, or freed frō the fear of him, should be ready to assist the Kings most righteous cause, & vindicate it with their armes against the rebels.

But now least *Montrose's* heroicall spirit should ever want matter to work upon, he is advertised that the *Earl of Seaforth*, a very powerfull man in those parts (and one of whom he had entertained a better opinion with the Garrison of *Junneresse* which were old Souldiers, & the whole strength of *Murray*, *Rosse*, *Sutherland*, *Cathnes*, and the sept of the *Frasers*, were ready to meet him with a desperate army of five thousand Horse and

Foot

Foot. *Montrose* had only fifteen hundred, for those of *Clanrenald*, and most of the *Atholemen* suspecting no such need of them, & being laden with the spoils of *Argyle*, had got leave to go home on condition they should return when they were sent for. But for al that *Montrose* was not afraid to give battell to that disorderly Army: for although he knew those of the Garrison to be old Souldiers, yet he accounted of the rest of the multitude (which were newly raised out of Husbandmen, Cow-herds, Pedees, Tavern-boyes, & Kitchin-boyes) to be altogether raw and unserviceable.

And now while he thought of nothing but fighting these, a trusty Messenger overtakes him, and informs him, that *Argyle* having gathered forces out of the lower parts of the Kingdom, and joyned unto them such Highlanders as yet adhered unto him, had come down into *Aber* with three thousand Foot, and staid at an old Castle called *Innerlogh* upon the bank of *Logh-Aber*. *Montrose* who wel understood the crafty & cowardly dispositiō of *Argyle*, by that had a good guesse at his designe; which was to follow after him at a good distance, that he might be first engaged with those Northern men, & then to make his ovvn advantage of the event of that battel, but by no means to fight himself if he could help it. Therefore *Montrose* considered that it vould be a matter of greater concernment and of lesse danger, to let men see that *Argyle* was not invincible even in the Highlands, vvere he was adored by the simple people like some great little god: and as for the Northern Army, he conceived that upon the report of a Victory obtained against *Argyle*,

it would moulder away and easily be brought into order. *Montrose* was thirty miles absent from *Innerlochy*, neither would he goe the high way thither (though he placed guards in it lest the enemy should have any intelligence of his moving) but streight over *Loggaber hills*, in untroden pathes, and onely know to Cow-herds and Hunt-men, (for in those mountains there are great herds of Deer) by a way that never man led an Army before; and killing their Scouts, was upon the back of the enemy ere he was aware. They being but little affrighted with so unexpected an accident run to their arms, and immediately prepare themselves for battel. When *Montrose* perceived them to be in a posture so quickly, he stood still a little while till his Rear being tired with so hard a march could come up unto his Front. It was night, but the Moon shone so clearly that it was almost as light as day: all night they stood to their arms, and making frequent sallies & skirmishes one with another, neither gave the other leave to rest or retreat. All others earnestly expected day; only *Argyle* being more advised then the rest conveyed himself away at dead of the night; and this second time taking boat saved himself from the peril of battel, as if he intended to be Umpire between the two Armies being himself out of gunshot stand spectatour of other mens valour, & wel too. At the break of day, *Montrose* ordered his men as he intended to fight, and the enemy were as forward to do the like. For they did not yet think that *Montrose* was there (as some prisoners afterwards confessed) but some Colonell or Captain of his with a party only of his forces.

When the Sun was up, on the second of *February* (which is *Candlemas* day) a trumpet sounding struck no small terrour into the enemy. For besides that a trumpet shewed they had Horse with them, and therefore was a sound with which those parts were little acquainted, it discovered also that *Montrose* himself was there. Neverthelesse the prime of the *Campbells* (that 's the syrnyme of *Argyle's* family) being gallant men and stout, and deserving to fight under a better Chieftain in a better cause, cheerfully begin the battell. But their souldiers that were in the Front having only once discharged their muskets, and *Montrose's* men pressing on fiercely to come to the dint of sword began to run. Whom they, raising a great shout, so eagerley pursued, that as it were at one assault they routed them all; and had the killing of them with a most horrible slaughter for nine miles together. Of the enemy were slain fifteen hundred, among whom were very many Gentlemen of the *Campbells*, who where chief men of the family, and of good account in their Country, who fighting but too valiantly for their Chieftain, had deaths answerable to their names, and fell in *Campo Belli*, in the Field of War, [*I cannot say the bed of Honour.*] Their fortune *Montrose* extreamly lamented, and saved as many of them as hee was able, taking them into his protection: whiles *Argyle* himself being gotten into a boat and rowed a little way off the shore, securely look't on whiles his kindred and souldiers were knockt on the head. Some Colonels and Captains that *Argyle* had brought

thither out of the Low-lands fled into the Castle; whom when the Castle was surrendred, and quarter was given unto them, *Montrose* used courteously; and after he had done them severall good offices of humanity & charity, freely let them depart. In this fight *Montrose* had many wounded, but none slain saving three private souldiers: but the joy of this great victory was much abated by the wounds of that truly honourable Sir *Thomas Ogleby*, sonne to the Earl of *Airley*, of which after a few dayes he dyed. He was one of *Montrose's* dearest friends; one who had done very good service for the King in *England* under the Command of his Father-inlaw the Lord *Ruthien*, Earl of *Forth* and *Braine*, (a man known all the world over for his noble achievements.) Nor was he lesse a scholler then a souldier, being a new ornament to the family of the *Oglebies*, whose honourable deaths-wounds for his King and Country had no small influence upon that dayes victory. *Montrose* being very much afflicted with the losse of him, causeth his body to be carried into *Athole*, where he was interred with as sumptuous a funerall as that place and those times could afford. But the power of the *Campbells* in the *Highlands*, which for these many ages past hath been formidable to their neighbours, was by this overthrow clearly broken to pieces; and by it also a way opened unto *Montrose* to do his businesse the more easily thenceforward. For the *Highlanders* being warlike men, and let loose from the hated tyranny of *Argyle*, now began to offer themselves willingly unto the Kings service.

C H A P. IX.

THe souldier who was almost spent with this fore travell, having refreshed himself for a few dayes, *Montrose* measuring over againe *Logh-Aber* hills returneth to *Logh-Ness*. And from thence viewing by the way the coasts of *Harrick*, *Arne*, and *Narne*, came to the river of *Spey*. Here he is told that there was no small party of the enemy at *Elgin*, (which is the chief town of *Murray*, a Country beyond the *Spey*.) *Montrose* hies towards these, either to draw them to his side or to suppress them: but the very report of his advancing blevv avway that cloud, for they in great amazement shifted for themselves every one vvhither he could. *Montrose* neverthelesse goes on his march, and takes in *Elgin* by surrender on the 14. day of *February*. At which time the Lord *Gordon*, eldest son to the Marquesse of *Huntley*, (a man who can never bee sufficiently commended for his excellent endowments) came off openly to the Kings side (from his uncle by whom he had been detained against his will) and with not many but very choise friends and clients, voluntarily did his duty, and offered his service to *Montrose*, as the Kings Deputy and Vicegerent. *Montrose* first welcomed him with all civility, and gave him many thanks; afterwards when hee came to understand him more inwardly; joyned him unto himself in the entirest bonds of friendship and affection. Now, because the inhabitants of *Murray* were extreemly addicted to

the Covenanters, they hid themselves in their lurking places, nor were any supplies to be expected from men so maliciously disposed; Therefore he drew his Forces to this side the *Spey*, to raise the Countries of *Bamph* and *Aberdene* by the presence, example, & authority of the Lord *Gordon*. So having got together what forces he could in those places, with two thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, passing the river of *Dee* he came into *Marne*, and encamped not farre from *Fettercarne*.

At *Brechin* some seven miles from thence, Sir *John Hurray*, a stout man and an active, and famous also in forraigne parts for Military exploits, being Generall of the Horse for the Covenanters, had the Command over the whole Forces there. Hee came out with six hundred Horse to discover the strength of *Montrose*: he conceived *Montrose* had but very few Foot and no Horse, and if he should but descend into the plain, hee made account to make short work with him; and howsoever it should happen, he made no question but to secure himself. *Montrose* to draw him on, hid the rest of his men in a bottome, and made shew only of his two hundred horse, but lined them (as he used) with his nimblest Musquetiers. Which Horse when *Hurray* saw, and observed they were so few, he drew up his men and charged. But when he perceived (too late) the Foot that ran close after *Montrose's* Horse, he sounded a retreat, and *Hurray* himself turning his men before him behaved himself stoutly in the rear. When they turned their backs, *Montrose's* souldiers drive

drive on, let fly, and lay about them, untill being got over the river of *Eske*, the enemy scarce safe under the protection of Night, betook themselves to shelter: nor did they think themselves secure till after a race of four and twenty miles long they came to *Dundee*. Then they that had pursued them so far returned to *Fethercarne*, and thence the next day to *Brechin*. Here *Montrose* understod, that *Bailly* a Commander of great account had been fetched out of *England*, to be Generall of the enemies Forces; that *Hurrey* with his Horse was joyned unto him, and that they had in their Army many olde souldiers brought back out of *England* and *Ireland*: so that now the Covenanters going about their businesse in so great sadnesse, *Montrose* must expect not only other kind of souldiers, but also most expert Commanders to deal with.

Therefore, lest he should chance to be hemb'd in with their Horse (in which their chief strength lay) he chuseth his most convenient way by the foot of *Grainsbaine* towards the river of *Tay*; intending also if it were possible to get over the *Forth*, where hee believed the King could not want assistance. Which designe of his was not unknown to the enemy: therefore they send these Commanders against him with a powerfull Army; who no sooner came in sight then *Montrose* offered them battell. But they intended nothing lesse then to try it out with him that way, nor would adventure so much as but to fall upon the rear of *Montrose* as he marched off. So he went to the Castle of *Innecarity*, and the next

F 3

day

day to a village called *Eliot*. And here again leaving the mountains behinde him hee descends into the plain, and by a Trumpet sends a challenge unto *Baily* to fight. Between their two Armies ran the river *Ile*, which neither could safely passe over without the others consent. *Montrose* therefore desires *Baily* to give him leave safely to come over to that side; which motion if *Baily* should not like of, he offered him a safe and free passage, on condition, that he would engage his honour to fight without further delay. *Baily* answered, he would look to his own businesse himself, and would not have other men teach him when to fight. Thus the two Armies fac't one another many dayes, neither the enemy endeavouring to passe their Forces over the river against *Montrose*, nor he hoping to make good his passe unto them by reason of his scarcity of Horse. Marching therefore to *Dunkeldon*, he thought to passe the *Tay*, at which time by a sudden and unexpected mischief he was almost utterly ruined. It was thus, *Lewis Cordon*, sonne to *Marquesse Huntly*, who had born arms against *Montrose* in the battell of *Aberdene*, by the mediation of his noble brother the Lord *Gordon* had bin received into favour. He either by true or counterfeit letters from the old fox in the hole, his father, tempred and carried away with him almost all the *Gordens* without the knowledge of his brother; and basely deserted *Montrose* and him when they were ready to be engaged with the enemy. And truly it is hard to say to whether of both he bore lesse good will.

Montrose being sore afflicted with this unexpected revolt, although he was of necessity to return into the North to gather new Forces, yet made as if neverthelesse hee went straight towards the *Forth*, and his Scouts came all with full cry, that all the enemy were got over the *Tay*, that by taking the fords of the *Forth* they might hinder this passage. Hee, lest he should seem all this while to have done nothing, thought it wel worth his labour, if by the way he could take in *Dundee*, a most seditious town; for that being the securest haunt and receptacle of the Rebels in those parts, and a place that had contributed as much as any other towards the Rebellion, was kept by no other garrison but of the Townsmen. He therefore commanded the weakest and worst armed men to go along by the bottom of the hills and to meet him at *Brechin*: and he taking with him what Horse he had (which were but one hundred and fifty in all) and six hundred nimble musquetiers, departing from *Dunkelden* about twelve of the clock in the night, made so great haste that hee came to *Dundee* by ten of the clock in the morning on the 4. day of *Aprill*. He summons the Townsmen to deliver the Town to the King, which was the only vway to preserve their ovvn lives and its safety; if they would not they must expect fire and sword. They began to make delayes, and first to give no answer at all, afterward to commit the Trumpet to prison. Which affront provoked *Montrose* so highly; that hee stormed the Town in three places at once: the Townsmen stood out a while and maintained

their works, but they had as good have done nothing, for the Irish and Highlanders would take no repulse, but with a resolute assault some beat them out of their sconces, and possessing themselves of their ordinance turned it against the Town; others beat open the gates, and possesse themselves of the Church and Market-place; and others set the Town on fire in severall places. And indeed had not the common souldiers by an unseasonable avarice and intemperance addicted themselves to pillage that rich Town had been immediately all on fire. But as it happened it was better both for the conquerours and the conquered that it was not, for all the intelligence that the Scouts had brought in concerning the enemies coming over the *Tay* was absolutely false: it may be they saw a few Troops (and many they dit not see) passe over it, which they beleaved to have been the wole body of the enemy, and by that means were like to have undone both themselves and the whole party.

Montrose stood upon the top of a hil close unto *Dundee* loocking upon this onslaught, when his almost breathlesse Scouts brought him newes that *Bailly* and *Hurrey* with three thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse were scarce a mile off. He immediately calls his men out of the Town, vvhich he had much to do to perswade them; for the souldiers counting themselves secure of the victory, and thinking they had done a good dayes work already, and besides being a little heated in drink, and much taken with so rich a booty, could hardly be brought to
leave

leave the Town they had so newly taken. And truly before they could be beaten off from the spoile, the enemy was come within musket-shot of them. And now (as it uses to happen in great dangers) *Montrose's* counsell of War were of different opinions; some perswaded that *Montrose* should shift for himself with the Horse he had, because they conceived it not possible that he should be able to bring off the Foot, who had been wearied with a march of above twenty miles in the morning, after that where spent in a hot fight at noon, and now were over-loaden either with drink or prey; especially seing he was to march twenty or perhaps thirty miles from *Dundee* before they could rest in safety. That this was the fortune of War, and to be patiently undergone, especially since he had given oft times far greater overthrowes to the enemy then this could be to him. That there was no doubt, but that as long as he was safe, his forces might be easily recruited; and on the other side if he miscaried, the case was desperate and they were utterly undone. Others cryed out, that all was lost already, and there was nothing left them but to die with honour; and therefore if charging courageously they should break in amongst the thickest of the enemy, no one could say but that they fell gallantly. *Montrose* concurred with neither of these; for he could never be brought to forsake so good men as he had in the extramest danger, and preferred an honourable death among his souldiers before dishonourable safety. But for all that, for men that were so much

out-nubred by them to run desperately upon the enemy, and as it vvere to dash out their ovvn brains against the stones, vvas the very last refuge, and not hastily to be made use of; therefore as vve ought not to tempt Almighty God by our ovvn vvretchlesnesse and negligence, so neither ought any valiant man or good Christian despair of his assistance in a iust cause. Lastly, he exhorts every one to do his ovvn part and referre the successe to God, and other things to his ovvn care and industry.

Immediately he sends out four hundred Foot before him, and commands them, that as much as they possibly could vvithout breaking their ranks they should make all speed. Then he appoints tvvo hundred of the activest men he had to follovv them; & he vvith his Horse brings up the Rear. The Horse trooped on in so open order, that if occasion vvere they might have room enough to receive light musquetiers. He believed the enemies Foot vvere not able to overtake them; and if their Horse only should charge them; (vvhich they vvould hardly adventure to do) he conceived it vvas no matter of extream difficulty to make their part good against them: besides the Sun vvas ready to set, & the darknesse of the night vvould be commodious for their retreat. The enemy understanding the number of them that vvvent avvay first by some prisoners they had taken, and after that by their ovvn viewv, assoon as they savv they vvere disposed rather for a journey then a battell, divide their Forces into tvvo parts and so pursue them. Wherein their intention vvas
not

not only to fall upon their Rear and Flank at once, but also to secure against them all passages up to the Highlands : And their Commanders the more to encourage their Souldiers to a hot pursuit, proposed twenty thousand Crownes to any one that could bring in *Montrose's* head. And now the Van of the enemies Horse began to close up unto the retreaters, whereupon those good musquetiers that lined *Montrose's* Horse welcomed one, and another, and another of the forwardest of them with bullets in their sides; with whose mischance the rest becoming more wary, abated of the eagernesle of their pursuit. And *Montrose's* souldiers when they saw they had been too hard for the enemies Foot at a march, and had got before them, taking heart and courage they skirmished stoutly with their Horse, untill the night parted the quarrell. And to rid themselves some way of the enemy, took their way East-ward many miles by the seacoast. However that was not their way, but to go North-ward toward *Grainsbaine*, and so to deliver themselves from their mischievous Horse. But *Baily* had laid the greatest part of his Army between them and *Grainsbaine* that there might be no place for the to retreat unto.

Therefore at the dead of the night when they were not far from *Aberbroth*, *Montrose* commands his men to make a stand a while. And long they stood not, before he considering with himself that all wayes & passages straight into the Mountains might be laid by the enemies Horse (& he was not mistaken) commands them to face about, and march South-west.

And

And by this art (though with intolerable pains) he beguiled the Pursuers , whom that same night he passed by ; and then turning North-ward , by the next morning at Sunrising passed over *South-Eske* at a place not far from *Careston* Castle : and from thence sent to *Brechin* to fetch those men which he had there with the Carriages. But that had not needed, for they upon the report of this expedition had provided for themselves better and more timely, and had taken the Mountains. Whiles he staid at *Careston*, the Scouts brought him word on a sudden that the enemies Horse were in fight, and their Foot being refresh't with victualls and sleep, march't after them apace. *Montrose* himself being now within three miles of the Mountains was not much afraid of them, but his souldiers who had not slept for three dayes and two nights , but had all that while been either on their march , or in fight , were overcome with so dead sleep that they could hardly be raised without pricks and wounds. The enemy being at last entertained with a light skirmish suffered *Montrose* to possesse himselfe of the bottom of the Mountains , and having done nothing to the purpose retreated from their vain pursuit. So he and his men came to *Gleneske*.

And this was that so much talk'd of Expedition of *Dundee* , infamous indeed for the mistake of the Scouts, but as renowned as any for the valour, constancy, and undaunted resolution of the Generall : and even admirable for the hardinesse of the Souldier , in encountering all extremities with patience,
for

for for threescore miles together they had been often in fight, alwayes upon their march, without either meat, or the least refreshment. Which whether forraigne Nations or after times will beleieve I cannot tell, but I am sure I deliver nothing but what is most certain of mine own knowledge. And truly amongst expert Souldiers, and those of eminent note both in *England*, *Germany*, and *France*, I have not seldom heard this Expedition of his preferred before *Montrose's* greatest victories.

C H A P. X.

ANd now being safe beyond expectation, *Montrose* bids the souldiers take their rest, whiles he determines thus of the whole affaire of the war. He sends the Lord *Cordon*, together with those that had continued loyall and dutifull after the revolt of his brother *Lewis* into their own Country, both that they might recall those whom his brother had seduced away, and recruit themselves by levying new forces. Which he cheerfully and courageously performed, and though he spared none, yet he was most severe with those that had been authors or accessaries to his brothers defection: ad he was the more active in that businesse, that he might acquit himself of any suspition. Nor indeed did *Montrose* himself or any other more detest that villany of *Lewis Gordon* then that noble Lord his brother. As for *Montrose*, he with a small party (for he kept but five hundred Foot and fifty Horse with him) marches through *Angus* into *Perthshire*, that he might
distract

distract the enemy till such time as hee made up his Army with recruits from every side. Neither was hee out in his aime, for the Covenanters had sent *Hurrey* the Lieutenant Generall of the Horse with a Command into the North, of a party of six hundred old Foot, and two hundred Horse; that he might strengthen their own side, and suppress the Lord *Gordon*. And *Bailly* himself staid with an Army at *Perth*, as in the very heart of the Kingdome, ready to wait upon all motions. *Montrose* was twelve miles off at a village called *Kreif*, where *Bailly* understood he quartered securely with a very small party: who being diligent upon all occasions, set out from *Perth* at the beginning of the night with all his Army, that by a speedy march he might at break of day fall unexpected into *Montrose*'s quarters. But hee found *Montrose* carefull enough of his businesse, and his Foot ready in armes either to march or fight; but he with his Horse came up towards the enemy to discover their number and strength. And when he found them to be two thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, hee commanded his men to march speedily away, and following the course of the river *Erne* to make good the fords thereof: hee with the few Horse that hee had was their Rear guard, lest they should have been troden in pieces by the enemies Cavalry. And truly he so valiantly repulsed the fierce assault of the enemy, that by killing some and routing others he forced them to a retreat, till at last his Foot after six miles march had made themselves masters of the
passes

passes of *Erne*. So the enemy retreated with the losse of their labour, and *Montrose* that same night being the 18. of *Aprill*, quartered at *Logh-Erne*, and came the next day to *Balwidir*, where the Earl of *Aboine* met him, who with some few more had escaped out of *Carlisle*, and hearing tydings of *Montrose's* good successe, had at last returned into his Country.

Leaving *Balwidir* they advanced to *Logh-Catrinet*, where they receive intelligence that *Hurrey* had raised great forces in the North, and was ready to engage with the Lord *Gordon*; and therefore there was danger that he being an active Souldier and a good Commander should be able to over-master that gallant young Gentleman. Therefore *Montrose* thought it necessary to oppose *Hurrey* assoon as was possible, as well to secure so dear a friend from imminent danger, as to be nibbling at the enemies Forces as he found them asunder, and to cut off that power by peace-meal which he vvell knew if it vv ere all in a body vvould be above his march. Therefore by long and continued journeys passing by *Balwidir*, and a Lake of four and twenty miles long, out of vv hich the river of *Tay* breaks forth, through *Athole* and *Angus*, and over *Granshaine*, through a vale called *Glenmuck*; hee came to the midst of *Marre*. There he joyned vvith the Lord *Gordon*, vvho had novv a thousand Foot and tvo hundred Horse, and marching straight to the *Spey*, laboured to finde out and engage with the enemy. Nor vv as he above six miles off vvhen *Hurrey* thought hee had not yet got over *Granshaine*, for vvith unvv earied labour and in-
credi-

credible speed he had over-run the very report of himself. *Hurrey*, lest a battell should be forced upon him whether he would or no, before he had received an addition of numerous Auxiliaries, in all hast passeth over the *Spey*. And because he had appointed the Rendezvouz of all his friends at *Innerneffe*, hyeth to *Elgin*; nor did *Montrose* pursue him lazily to *Elgine*. Thence with all speed he passeth to *Forresse*, nor did *Montrose* make lesse haste to follow and overtake him too at *Forresse*, and sat so close on his skirts for fourteen miles together, that notwithstanding he had the advantage of te night, hee had much adoe to reach *Innerneffe*.

The next day *Montrose* incamped at a village called *Alderne*: and *Hurrey* according to his hopes found the Earls of *Seafort* and *Suderland*, the whole sept of the *Frasers*, and most of *Murray* and *Cathness*, and the neighbouring parts to have assembled themselves to *Innerneffe* well appointed. To these *Hurrey* ads some old souldiers of the Garrison of that Town, and so drawes up against *Montrose*. He now commanded three thousand and five hundred Foot, and four hundred Horse; but *Montrose* (who had no more but fifteen hundred Foot and two hundred Horse) had a great minde to retire. But not only *Hurrey* pressed so vehemently upon him, that it was scarce possible for him to retreat, but *Baily* also vvith a Southern Army much stronger then *Hurrey's* (especially in Horse) vv as novv got already a great vvay on that side *Gransbaine*, and marched in great hast tovards the *Spey*. What should

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Montrose do in this condition. Hee must of necessity either give *Harrey* battell, or undergo a far greater hazard of being hemb'd in between two Armies. Therefore he resolves to try the fortune of War without delay, to commit the successe unto God, and chusing the best advantage of ground hee could finde, there to expect the assault of the enemy. There was a little Town that stood upon the height which shadowed the neighbouring valley; & some little hills that were higher then the Town behinde it, that hindered the discovery of any one till they were just upon him. In this valley he drawes up his Forces out of the view of the enemy. Before the Town he places a few but expert and choice Foot with his Ordnance, who were sheltered with such ditches as they found there. The right wing hee commits to *Alexander Mac-donel* with four hundred Foot, and lodged them in places fortified to their hand with banks and ditches, with shrubs also and great stones: and commands him to preserve himself entire, that he might be a reserve upon all occasions, and not to depart from his station which had so good a naturall fence, that they might lie there safe enough not only from the enemies Horse but Foot also. And with the same good advice, he committed to his charge that notable Standard of the Kings, which only he was wont to carry before him; expecting that the enemy upon the sight of that would order the best of their Forces against that wing, which by reason of the disadvantage of the place would be rendred wholly unusefull unto

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them,

them, till such time as hee on the left flank should take his best advantage against them. And to that end drawing the rest of his Forces to the other side, hee commends the Horse to the Lord Gordon, and takes charge of the Foot himself. Those few that stood before the Town under the shelter and covert of the banks and ditches seemed as if they were his main battell, whereas indeed hee had none. And for Reserves, in that scarcity of men they were not to be thought of.

The enemy (as *Montrose* most wisely fore saw) as soon as they saw the Kings Standard ordered, the most part of their Horse and old Souldiers (vvherein their chief strength consisted) against that. And by this time the Van of the enemy began to dispute it with those before the Town, and on the right flank, and still as their souldiers were spent, drew up fresh men; which *Montrose* because his number was but few could not so easily do: therefore hee resolved with all his men that he had on the left flank to make a violent assault upon the enemy at once. And whiles he was thinking so to do, there comes unto him one whom hee knew to be trusty and discreet, and whispers him in the ear that *Mac-donell* with his men on the right flank were put to flight. He being a man of a quick spirit, thought it was best to forestall the souldiers lest their hearts should faile them upon bad newes, and cryes aloud to the Lord Gordon, *My Lord, what doe we doe?* *Mac-donell* upon the right hand having routed and discomfited the enemy is upon the execution; shall wee stand by as
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idle spectators whiles hee carries away the honour of the day? And with that hee commands them to charge. *Hurrey's Horse* had no minde long to endure the shock of the *Gordons*, but wheeling about and beginning to run, left their flanks which they were to maintain open to their enemies. Their Foot, although thus deserted by their Horse, being both more in number and better armed then *Montrose's* men, stood out very stoutly as long as his men kept aloof; but as soon as hee came to fall upon them hand to hand, hee drove them to throw away their arms, and to seek (though to little purpose) to save themselves by their heels. But *Montrose* himself, not forgetting what was signified unto him by so faithfull a messenger, drew off with a few of his readiest men unto the right flank, where hee found things in a far other condition then they were left.

For *Mac-donell*, being a valiant man, but better at his hands then head, (being over-hasty in battell, and bold even to rashnesse) disdaining to shelter himself behinde hedges and shrubs whiles the enemy vapoured and provoked him with ill language, contrary to orders, upon his own head advanceth towards the enemy out of that most defensible fastness & station where in he was placed. And he did it to his cost, for the enemy over-powering him both in Horse and Foot, and having many old souldiers amongst the, routed & repulsed his men. And certainly if he had not timely drawn the off into a close hard by, they had every one of the together with the Kings Standard been lost. But hee made amends for that

rash mistake in his admirable courage in bringing off his men, for he was the last man that came off; and covering his body with a great target which he carried in his left hand, defended himself against the thickest of his enemies. Those that came closest up unto him were Pike-men, who with many a blow had struck their spear-heads into his target, which he cut off by three or four at once with his sword which he managed with his right hand. And those that made him any opposition in the close, seeing *Montrose* come in to his aid, and their own men on the other side put to flight, such as were Horse spur'd away, and the Foot (most of which were old souldiers out of *Ireland*) fighting desperately, were almost all of them slain upon the ground. The Conquerours pursued them that fled for some miles; so that there were slain about three thousand Foot of the enemy, amongst whom their old souldiers fought most stoutly; but almost all their Horse escaped by a more timely then honourable flight.

Nor had *Hurrey* himself with some of their best men which went last off the field escaped the hands of the pursuers, had not the Earl of *Aboine* by I know not what want of heed, displayed some Ensignes and Standards that had been taken from the enemy; and himself not following the chase but turning towards his own party, seemed to have been the enemy, and to threaten a new battell. With which mistake they were so long deluded, untill the enemies Horse, though much disordred, had shifted themselves away into such by-paths as they knew
or

or could light upon: only a few of them came with *Hurrey* before next morning to *Inverness*. Of such of the enemy as were slain, the most notable were *Cambell Laver* a Colonell of old souldiers, *Sir John* and *Sir Gideon Murray* Knights, and other stout men, and perhaps not unworthy to bee lamented, had they not stained their otherwise commendable valour with the horrid crime of Rebellion; nor in that did they so much follow their own judgements as the humour of the times, or the ambition, or avarice of their Chiefs. *Montrose* of those that served with him on the left flank missed only one man, and him a private souldier; and on that side where *Mac-donell* commanded, there were missing fourteen private souldiers also. But hee had many more wounded, the curing and securing of whom was especially provided for by *Montrose*. Afterwards entertaining the prisoners with sweetnesse & courtesie, hee promised all such as repented of their error, liberty or employment, and was as good as his word; and such as were obstinate in their rebellion he disposed of into severall prisons. In this battell at *Alderne* the valour of young *Napier* did very much discover it self; who being the son of the Lord *Napier* of *Marchiston*, and *Montrose's* nephew by his sister, had but a little before without the knowledge of his father, or wife, stoln away from *Edinburgh* to his uncle, and did at this time give an excellent assay of his valour, and laid down most firm principles of a most noble disposition. Whereupon the chief of the Covenanters took his father, a man

almost threescore and ten years old (and as good a man as ever *Scotland* bred in this age,) and his wife, the daughter of the Earl of *Marre*, *Sir Sterling Keer* his brother-inlaw (an excellent man also, chief of his family, and one that had suffered very much for his Loyalty) together with his two sisters, the one *Sir Sterlings* most virtuous Lady, the other a virgin, and cast them all into the dungeon; from whence afterward they were to be delivered by *Napier* himself with the assistance of his uncle. This battell was fought at *Alderne* on the 4. of *May*, 1645.

C H A P. XI.

M*ontrose* allowing a few dayes of refreshment to his souldiers, marched to *Elgin* which is the chief Town of the Province; where for the sake of those that were wounded, hee made some longer stay, because they had there the accommodation of good Chyrurgeons and medicines, which are sometimes scarce to be had in the field. Afterward passing over the *Spey* hee came to *Keith*, from thence to *Frendracket*, and so to *Strathbogy*. Here *Baily* meets him (unto whom *Hurrey* with those that remained of his broken Troops at *Alderne* was joyned) and provokes him to battell. *Montrose* kept back his men, who were spent with great travaile, and were far fewer both in Horse and Foot, though very eager to fight, till such time as he had raised new forces, & recruited them. Therefore thinking it enough to maintain that ground which he had chosen as commodiously as he could for himself untill night, passeth

seth then to *Balvenie*, whither also the enemy followeth him: but he passing by *Strath Done & Strath-Spey*, went up to *Badenoth*. The enemy getting to the other side of the water provokes him again to fight; but in vain, for he was very wary of giving them a set battell, but neverthelesse by frequent skirmishes, and especially beating up quarters in the night, did so much weaken their power and courage, that they that were so haughtily daring but a while ago, as well Commanders as Souldiers, hastily and disorderly betook themselves by night to *Inverness* when none pursued them. *Montrose* was not much displeased that hee was so rid of this enemy, especially for this reason; the Earl of *Lindsey*, the prime ringleader of the Covenanters next unto *Argyle*, and his rival too (as being brother-in-law to Duke *Hamilton*) used to give out, that *Argyle* wanted either care or courage, and howsoever it came to passe, was still unfortunate. And therefore he took upon himself the command of that Army which was newly raised, as if he would assay to manage the businesse with better conduct. And now he had passed over with his forces into *Angus*, intending to be a Reserve unto *Baily*; and if any thing should happen otherwise then wel, at the worst hee was ready to hinder *Montrose's* passage over *Forth*. For they were alwayes very jealous lest *Montrose* should remove the seat of Warre to this side the *Forth*, and nearer *Edinburgh*. Therefore hee resolved with all speed to quell *Lindsey* (who lay yet in *Angus* at a Castle called *Newtill*) both

because the Generall was no souldier, and the souldiers raw, and unacquainted with the hardship of war.

In pursuit of which designe, departing from *Badenoth* he marcheth through the plains of *Marre* over *Gransbaine*, and came by long and painfull journies unto the coast of the river of *Airley*, intending to surprize the enemy on a sudden: which was easie to be done, for hee had made such hast, that the newes of his approach was not so swift as himself. And now *Lindsey* was not above seven miles from him, and all things were ready for an assault, when (upon what occasion it is uncertain) almost all the Northern men privately ran away from their colours; and going back the way that they came, return into their Country. The Lord *Gordon* was in the Camp, and there was none there that detested that villany with greater indignation then he, in so much that *Montrose* had much adoe to withhold him from putting such of the fugitives to death as had any dependance upon him. Some stick not to say, that these men were inveigled away by the private directions of his father the Marquesse of *Huntley* to the Earl of *Aboine*, who by reason of his sicknesse was absent. For it vext *Huntley*, a haughty and envious man, to hear of the successe of *Montrose*; nor could he endure that inward frindship which was between his eldest son and him. However it was, *Montrose* being cast down with this unexpected misfortune, was forced to put off that Expedition against *Lindsey*, and to suffer patiently so great and easie a victory

story to be taken out of his hands.

Therefore taking up new resolutions, hee followeth after Colonell *Nathaniel Gordon*, a valiant man and a trusty, and welbeloved in his Country, whom he had sent before. And by this time *Baily* and *Hurley* had returned from *Inverness*, and quartered in lower *Marre* by the side of *Dee*. And *Montrose* came by the coast of *Eske*, and the plains of *Marre* into the heart of that Country, commonly called *Crommare*. And whiles hee passed through those plains afore said, hee dispatched *Mac-donell* with a party into the furthest part of the Highlands, to conduct such Forces as were there raised with all speed unto the Army. Afterward hee sent away the Lord *Gordon* himself, to hasten and promote that levy of men which *Nathaniel Gordon* was lifting, by all the power and interests hee had in those parts. Which he most diligently performed, and amongst others, brought his brother the Earl of *Aboine* back with him. Whilest these things passed in *Crommarre*, *Lindsey* joynes his Forces with *Baily* in lower *Marre*. With whom *Montrose* finding himselfe unable to deal, (the most part of his Forces being gone along with the Lord *Gordon* and *Mac-donell*) hee stept aside to the ruined Castle of *Kargarf*, lest the enemy should overlay him on the champaine grounds with their multitudes both of Horse and Foot; but when hee was close unto the Mountains he feared them not. From hence *Aboine* falling sick again, betook himself to *Strathbogy*; and upon pretence of a guard, carried along with him a considerable number of Horse,

whom his brother the Lord *Gordon* had much ado afterward to draw back to their colours. In the mean time *Lindsey* took a thousand old Souldiers from *Baily*, and gave him as many raw & new rais'd men for them; and as if hee intended to do some famous exploit, returning through *Merne* into *Angus*, with all the pains he took hee did only this, he ranged with his Army up and down *Athole*, and after hee had robbed and spoiled all the Countrey, he set it on fire. In this imitating *Argyle*, who was the first that in this age introduced that cruell and dreadfull president of destroying houses and corn: being better at fire then sword, when they came into empty fields and towns unmann'd.

Baily at that time went to *Bogy*, to besiege the fairest castle that belonged to the Marquesse of *Huntley*, and indeed of all the North; and in case he failed to take it in, to waste and fire all the Country of the *Gordons* thereabouts. *Montrose* (although *Macdonell* was absent with a great party) thought it necessary to relieve *Huntley* and his friends, whom he laboured to assure unto himself by all good offices, and hied thither. Where having notice that *Baily's* souldiers, though not all yet a great part, were new rais'd men (for he had parted with so many old souldiers to *Lindsey*) desired nothing more then without delay to fight him, and marcheth straight towards him. Hee had not gone above three miles before he discovered the enemies Scouts: He therefore sent before some of his readiest men that knew the wayes to view the strength, the rendezvouz
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and the order of the enemy. They immediately bring word, that the Foot stood on the top of a hill some two miles off; and the Horse had possessed themselves of a narrow and troublesome passe which lay almost in the middle between the two Armies, and were come on this side it. Against them *Montrose* sent such Horse as he had in a readinesse, with some nimble Firelocks, whom they first entertained with light skirmishes afar-off, and after retreated behinde the passe, which they had strongly man'd with musquetiers. *Montrose* sends for the Foot, that if it were possible they might dislodge the enemy from thence; but it could not bee done, for they were parted by the fall of the night, which both sides passed over waking, and in their arms. The next day *Montrose* sends a Trumpet to offer a set battell, but *Baily* answers, hee would not receive orders to fight from an enemy. Hee therefore seeing he could not drive the enemy from those passes without manifest losse and danger, that hee might draw him out thence in some time, marcheth off to *Pithlurge*, and from thence to a Castle of the Lord *Forbes* called *Druminore*, where he staid two dayes. And at last hee understands the enemy had quitted the passes, and was marching toward *Strasbogy*: so he at break of day sets forth towards a village called *Alford*. But *Baily* when he had gotten certain notice that *Mac-donel* with a considerable part of those Forces was absent in the Highlands, hee voluntarily pursues *Montrose*, conceiving him to be stealing away, and about noon began to face him.

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Montrose determines to wait for the enemy (who as seemed to him came towards him) upon the higher ground: But *Bailly* turning aside some three miles to the left hand, *Montrose* holds on his intended march to *Alford*, where hee staid that night, the enemy lying about four miles off.

The next day after, *Montrose* commands his men very early in the morning to stand to their armes, and make ready to battell, and placed them on a hill that stands over *Alford*. And as he with a Troop of Horse was observing the motion and order of the enemy, and viewing the fords of the *Done*, a river which runs by *Alford*, it was told him that the enemy, Horse and Foot, were making unto a ford which lay a mile from *Alford*, to the intent that they might cut off the Reare of their flying enemy; for so those excellent Diviners prophesied to their owne destruction. *Montrose* leaving that troop of Horse not farre from the Ford, together with some select and understanding men who should give him perfect intelligence of all things, hee returneth alone to order the battell. And above all things he possesses himselfe of *Alford* hill, where hee might receive the charge of the enemy if they fell on desperately. Behinde him was a moorish place full of ditches and pits, which would prevent Horse falling upon his Reare: before him was a steep hill which kept his men from the enemies view, so that they could hardly perceive the formost rankes. Hee had scarce given order for the right managing of all things, when those Horse whom hee had left at the Ford

Ford returned with a full carriere, and bring word that the enemy had passed the River. And now it was no more safe for either of them to retreat without the apparent ruine of their party. It is reported that *Bailly*, like a skilfull and wary Commaunder, was fore against his will drawne unto this battell; nor had engaged, had he not beene necessitated unto it by the rashnesse of the Lord *Balcarrise*, a Colonel of Horse; who precipitated himselfe and the Horse under his command into that danger, whether *Bailly* would or no, as that hee could not be brought off without the hazard of the whole Army.

Montrose gave the command of his right wing (on which side the enemies Horse were most strong) unto the Lord *Gordon*; and appointed *Nathaniel Gordon*, an old Commander to his assistance. The command of the left wing was given to the Earle of *Aboine*, to whom also was joyned Sir *William Rollock*. And of the maine battell to two valiant men, *Glengar*, and *Drumond of Ball* the younger, unto whom hee added *George Graham* master of the Camp, an expert souldier also. The Reserve, which was altogether hid behinde the hill, was commanded by his nephew *Napier*. And for a while, *Montrose* kept himself upon the height, and the enemy in the valley being fortified with pits and ditches; for it was neither safe for the later to charge up the hill, nor for the former to fall upon them that were surrounded with marshes and pooles. The numbers of the Foot were in a manner even, either side had about two thousand: but *Bailly* was much stronger in Horse, for
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he had six hundred, and *Montrose* but two hundred and fifty. Only *Montrose* had this advantage, that the enemy were for the most part hirelings raised from dunghills, but those that served the King, Gentlemen, who fought for a good Cause and Honour, *gratis*, and not for gaine; and such as esteem'd it more becoming to die then to be overcome. Besides *Montrose* knew that the greatest part of the old souldiers were gone with *Lindsey*, and the new ones would be so frighted with the shouts of the Armies, and the noise of Trumpets, that they would scarce stand the first charge. Therefore in confidence of so just a cause, and so valiant assertors of it, he first drew downe his men, and immediately the Lord *Gordon* giving a smart charge upon them, was courageously receiv'd by the enemy, who trusted to the multitude of their Horse; and now being clos'd, and come to handy blowes no one could advance a foot but over his vanquished enemy; nor retreat by reason of the pressing on of those in the Rear. The first that made way for themselves and their men by a great slaughter of their enemies were the two *Gordons*, the Lord, and the Colonell; and Colonell *Nathaniel* called out unto those expert Firelocks who now lin'd the Horse as they were wont, *Come on, my fellow souldiers, throw downe your now uselesse guns, draw your swords, and sheat them in the Rebels Horse; or hamstring them.* They instantly tooke the word of command, and at the same time *Montrose* drawes up *Napier* with his Reserve, which lay out of sight on the other side of the hill, at whose sudden

sudden and unexpected coming, the enemy a-frighted, betook himself to his heels. *Abaine* with the left wing kept off, nor did hee attempt the enemy but by light skirmishes in small parties: who when they saw their own men on their left wing routed and put to flight, made their retreat with little losse. Their Foot being deserted by their Horse, after they had desperately stood out a while, and refused quarter, were almost all cut off. The fall of the Lord *Gordon* was no little advantage to the escape of their Horse, who after the battell was won, rushing fiercely into the thickest of them, receiv'd a shot through his body by the conquered and flying enemy, and fell down dead. Whom also *Abaine* did not hotly pursue, being much troubled with the losse of his brother.

In this battell, *Montrose* did not lose so much as one common souldier, and of Gentlemen, one *Culcholl*, and one *Milton*, whose names and families I should most willingly have inserted, had I been so happy as to have knowledge of them, because they died gallantly in the bed of Honour; fighting for their King, their Liberty, and the Laws. Nor are some Pedees as well Scotch as Irish to be forgotten, boyes scarce fourteen years of age a piece, who throwing down their masters luggage, & mounting upon their nags & sumpter-horse, did not onely make a faire appearance of a body of Horse, but (as if they had bin Corrivalls in valour with their masters) beyond what might be expected from their years & strength, fell in among the thickest of their enemies.

Of

Of whom some, but very few were slain; nor did they sell their lives for nothing; and by that they gave an ample testimony of their towardnesse, and of so manly a spirit in children as might prescribe to riper years. But the losse of the Lord Gordon had so deep an impression upon all mens affections, that they had the face rather of a defeated then victorious army. The first scene of their sorrow vvvas acted in a dull silence; in the next, the flood-gates vvvere broke open, and the army vvvas full of sighes, and sobs, and vvailing, and lamentation: and then vvwith bedevved cheeks, as soon as their grief could get a tongue, they blam'd Heaven, and Earth, and Fortune, and every thing for depriving the King, the Kingdome, the Age, themselves, and their posterity of such a man. Thus forgetting their victory and the spoile, they fixt their eyes upon the lifelesse body, kissed his face and hands, commended the singular beauty of the corps, compared the Nobility of his descent, and the plentifulnesse of his fortune, vvwith the hopefulnesse of his parts; and counted that an unfortunate victory that had stood them in so much. And truly it vvvas like to have happened, that their excessive sorrow for the losse of this noble Gentleman had conquer'd the Conquerors, had they not comforted themselves vvwith the presence and safety of *Montrose*. Nor could he himself refrain himself from bewailing vvwith salt tears the sad and bitter fate of his most dear and only friend, but lamented much that the honour of his Nation, the ornament of the

the Scottish Nobility, the ablest assertor of the Royall Authority in the North, and so intimate friend unto himself should be thus cut off in the flowre of his age. In the meantime, hoping that reason and time between them would assuage that grief, hee commands Physicians to embalme his noble corps, which afterwards being removed to *Aberdene*, he saw brought forth with a sumptuous and Souldier-like Funerall, and interr'd in the Monument of his Ancestors in the Cathedrall Church. This battell was fought at *Alford* on the 2. of *July*, 1645.

C H A P. XII.

M*Ontrose* that same afternoon that hee had got this victory at *Alford*, marching to *Clunie* Castle, allowed onely two or three houres to his souldiers for their refreshment. And going from thence to the banke of the river *Dee*, sent away the Earl of *Aboine*, who succeeded his deceased brother. into *Buchanshire*, and the places adjacent for recruits; for many of them who were at the fight being Highlanders, & not farre from their own habitations, had dropt home with their pillage. And because *Macdonell* was not yet returned, hee kept his quarters at *Cragston*, expecting both him and *Aboine*. But when hee perceived those Auxiliaries were dispatched unto him with lesse speed then he hoped, and finding his expectation deluded, impatient of so long and disadvantageous delay, after he had got over the *Dee* and *Gransbaine*, fell down into

Merne, and lay at *Ferdon Chapell*, once famous for the See and Sepulchre of *St. Palladius*. Thence hee sends to the Earl of *Aboine* (who was now come to *Aberdene*) to hasten unto him into *Merne* with such Forces as he heard he had raised. *Aboine* came indeed but brought no great store of Forces along with him; therefore hee sends him backe into the North to raise as many men as he could possibly, and bring them with all speed unto the Camp. Hee himself going through *Angus* met his Cousen *Patricke Graham* with his *Athole* men ready to live and die under his command, and *Mac-donell* with a great power of Highlanders: with him was *Macklen*, the chief of his sept, a valiant man, and singularly loyall, who brought some seven hundred choise Foot of his friends and clients. Also the Chief of the *Mac-ranolds*, a great man in the Highlands, & one that entirely lov'd the King, who had above five hundred men at his heels. The *Mac-gregories* also, and the *Mac-nabties* men inferiour to none in valour and hardinesse: after the fashion of the Country, followed their Commanders and Chiefs of their Families, whose certain number I cannot easily assigne. And *Glengar*, a man never sufficiently to be commended for his valour, and loyalty to the King, and serviceableness & affection to *Montrose*, (seeing he in person almost from the Expedition into *Argyle* had never departed from him) by his uncles and others whom he employed, brought in about five hundred more. Besides out of the plaines of *Marre* came a great number of the *Fercharsons*, gallant men and of
 appro-

approved valour. And some too out of *Badenoth*, not many indeed but stout and able men of their hands.

Montrose being reinforced with such an Army, resolves to make his way into the heart of the Kingdom; as wel to spoile the enemies levying of men in *Fifeshire*, and the Country on this side the *Forth*, as also to break up the Parliament which the Covenanters had not without solemnity and ostentation, summoned at *Saint Johns-towne*. Nor did any thing hinder him but want of Horse, of which alwayes he had such scarcity, that it was never or very seldome safe for him to fall down into the plain Country. But because hee daily expected *Aboine* and *Ainsley* to come unto him with a considerable party of Horse, he passed over the *Tay* at *Dunkeldon*, and lying near *Amunde*, struck no small terroure into the enemy who held *Saint Johns town*; and from thence approaching nearer unto them, he encamped in *Meibsyn* Forrest.

The enemies Foot (all but the garrison souldiers in the Towne) lay on the South of the river *Erne*. The Horse which were designed for the guard of the Town and Parliament as soon as they discovered *Montrose's* Scouts, bring in a hot alarm that hee was there, and come already close to the gates, and no question but he meant presently to scale the walls, and make an assault upon the Town: therefore they were earnest with the Nobility and the whole Parliament, to secure themselves by a speedy flight: when all this while *Montrose* had scarce a hundred Horse, & they wer four hundred. But he the next day

the more to encrease their terrour, drew nearer unto the Town with those Horse hee had, and about the same number of ready Fire-lockes whom he mounted upon pack-horses; and set out his men in their view so much to his advantage, that they appeared a considerable body of Horse. And because the enemy kept themselves within the gates, forthwith turning towards *Duplin*, hee diligently view'd this side of the River *Erne* and all that coast, as if he had Horse enough to keep all that Country in subjection. And truly thus much he got by it, that the enemy tooke him to be exceeding strong as well in Horse as Foot. Therefore they draw together as many Forces from all sides, as they could make, whom they intended to fight with *Montrose* if hee should offer to passe over the *Forth*. But hee finding it not safe for himself neither to descend into the champion Country, they both kept their stations for many dayes, the enemy expecting Auxiliaries out of *Rise*, and the Country on this side the *Forth*, and out of the West, and *Montrose* looking for the like out of the North. And waiting impatiently for *Aborne* who was too slow with his men, he sent some to hasten him, least they should lose the opportunity of doing their businesse. Hee also complained, but in a soft and gentle manner, as before a faithfull friend, that *Aborne's* lingring and delay was in the fault, that a brave victory, by which he conceived the Rebels might have been utterly subdued, had slipped out of his hands; which misfortune no man doubted but his speed and dilig-

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gence might have prevented.

The enemy when they understood that he onely cheated them with a false Muster of Horſe, having gotten aid from all parts, and by this time overnumbring him even in Foot, labour'd not only to provoke, but even compell him to fight. Whereupon hee concluded to ſtep aſide a little into the neighbouring Mountains, whither he knew either the enemy would not advance, or if they did it would be to their loſſe. Therefore the enemy drawing near with all their Army to *Methſyn*, he gives a private command for the Carriages to drive faſt up the hills, whiles he, as if he intended to fight, orders the battell, makes good the paſſes with ſtrong guards, and drawes up the Horſe into the Front. Nor did the enemy expect any other then to try it out by battell, which hee made as if hee would give, till ſuch time as the Carriages were got ſo farre before, that he conceiv'd them out of danger: and then he commands the Army in one body at their cloſe order to march away apace: He gave charge unto ſuch Horſe as he had, and his ableſt Firelocks to bring up the Reare, & to ſecure them from the enemies Horſe. The enemy providing for a preſent charge, as they expected, when they ſaw *Montroſe* retreating, fiſt purſued eagerly though to no purpoſe; for he making good all paſſes as he went, eaſily repulſed them, and without loſſe of ſo much as one private ſouldier came chearfully off into the heights and ſteep places that were unacceſſible unto the enemies Horſe, and for their Foot they fear'd

no assault from them. It is remarkable, that when *Montrose's* Horse were come up unto the passes, and the enemy knew very well they were not able to pursue any further; lest with all that paines they should seem to have done nothing at all, they sent out three hundred of their ablest and readiest Horse to follow after them with a great shout & base language; whom, when *Montrose* saw, he call'd for only twenty active bodied men of the Highlanders that were used to hunting, & very good marks-men, and commanded them to check their insolence; and they first of all creeping hither, and thither, and hiding their guns, took their aimes so well that they knockt downe some of the forwardest of those men; who being men of the better sort, by their example made the rest more wary, so that they were all contended to retreat. But those good huntsmen being encouraged with their good successe, as soon as they saw their enemies disorder'd, came into the open plain and resolutely charged their Horse: who, in as much feare as Bucks or Does chased by Hunters, set spurs to their Horses and fled back to their maine body as if the Divell were in them.

The enemy upon their retreat chose that place for their Rendezvouz, from whence *Montrose* departed, *Meithsyn* Forrest: after they had done nothing worthy to be remembred in all that expedition but that when thy found themselves unable to cope with men, they exercised their cruelty upon women: for all the wives of the Irish and Highlanders that they light of, (who followed the Camp for the love of
of

of their husbands) most basely and shamelesly they hew'd in pieces. *Montrose* kept his quarters at little *Dunkeldon*, both because the place was cumbersome and unpassable for Horse, and lay very conveniently for receiving such aids as he daily expected with *Aboine* out of the North. All which time the two spleenative Armies lying close together rather stood upon their guards then offered any affront, one to the other.

And now at length *Aboine* and Colonell *Nathaniell Gordon* brought up their men out of the North to *Dunkeldon*; men for their number indeed fewer then was expect, but for their stoutnesse and true valour farre above their number. The Horse they brought were only two hundred, and some six score Firelocks whom they had mounted and made Dragoons: other Foot they brought none. Along with them came the Earl of *Airley* and Sir *David* his son with fourscore Horse, most of them of the noble family of the *Oglebys*; amongst whom *Alexander* sonne and heir of Sir *John Ogleby* of *Innecarrit* was most eminent, not onely for the rare accomplishments of his person and the splendor of his Ancestors, but for the honour of his valiant and happy achievements, much above what his age could promise. *Montrose* being thus well recruited, thought it not good to lose any time but marched straight towards the enemy. But assoon as he came to *Amonde*, he thought it best to see in what condition the enemy was, & to find out whether that was true which he had receiv'd a flying report of; that was, that

very many of their Auxiliaries had deserted their colours and run home. Therefore leaving his Foot to take their rest, a little before night he fac'd the enemy with his Horse; with which sight being something affrighted, they kept within their trenches. And next morning early *Montrose* riding about to discover, was informed that they had stollen away at the dead of the night to *Meibsyn*, and in disorder had got over a bridge upon the *Erne*. Hee instantly causes his men to march, and passing the river at a stone-bridge about six miles off, lay that night in *Strath-Erne*.

C H A P. XIII.

F*ife* is the most populous, the most rich, the thickest Country of Towns and Villages in all *Scotland*. Its inhabitants are little martiall, consisting most of Merchants, Shopkeepers, Mariners and Husbandmen. But so new fangled in their Religion, and so bewitched both by the example and authority of the Nobility, and by the Sermons of their seditious Ministers, that all of them upon the matter were extremely addicted to the Covenanters. The Country it self is almost an Iland, being inviron'd towards the South with the *Scottish Firth*, on the North with the *Tay*, which carrieth ships of great burden all along; on the East with the maine sea. No entrance thither by land but on the West, in the straights of which both Armies lay. The whole Country was in a distraction, some (especially their much admired Preachers that thundred nothing but

but Excommunications) inciting and compelling all of every estate and age to take up armes; others flocking in great numbers unto them, others running hither and thither to hide themselves, as every one was led by his own superstition, confidence, or fear. *Montrose* was very desirous to assault the enemy, and try the fortune of a battell with them before they encreas'd their Forces with addition of the *Fife*-men; but it would not be. For they had so fortified themselves by the advantage of the ground, and the narrowness of the passages, that hee could by no means either make his way unto them or draw them out into plainer ground. Having therefore made them severall fruitlesse offers of battell, he resolved to march into the heart of the Country, and came to *Kinross*, as well to hinder the rising of that Country, as to traine the enemy at last out of their fastnesse to come in unto the aid of their distressed friends. They, not so much as daring to fall upon his Rear, turn'd another way, and keeping close to the banke first of the *Erne*, afterwards of the *Tay*, made speed towards the East-side of the Conntrey. As *Montrose* passed along, he sent Colonell *Nathaniell Gordon*, and Sir *William Rollock* before him with a small party. These sending the rest of their party up and down to scout, kept only ten men in their company: on a sudden they happened upon two hundred of the enemy who were raising me in those parts; and being not able to retreat, they twelve encountered the two hundred, put them to flight, kill'd some and rook other some prisoners.

Montrose that night came to *Kinross*, not doubting but they of *Fife* who were exceedingly out of love with the King, most firm to the Covenanters, and wholly given to the new superstition, were generally up in armes. Therefore thinking it not safe rashly to engage with so great a multitude of Horse and Foot, hee determin'd to passe over the *Forth*, and that upon this ground, that he having wearied out the *Fife-men* (whom he beleev'd would not be easily perswaded to follow the Army further then their own borders) with long marches might vanquish them without a blow. For he accounted that most of them being born or brought up in shops, or ships, or taverns, & not acquainted with the hardship of souldiers would presently give out and be weary. Besides such of the Nobility as were in rebellion (after they saw with sorrow that the seat of the Warre was drawn so near them as the *Forth*) were raising men with more eagernesse then ever before upon the Borders & in the West; of whom the chief were the Earls of *Lanerick*, *Cassils*, and *Eglinton*. Whose levies *Montrose* laboured either to hinder, or draw themselves to his side before they came up to *Baily* and the *Fife-men*; therefore hee marched from *Kinross* towards *Sterling*, and lay that night some three miles from the City. The next day sending the Foot before, he followed softly after with the Horse, because hee suspected that the enemy pursued him in the Rear.

Nor was he deceived in that suspicion, for some Espyals whom he left behinde him brought word that

that *Bally* was hard by with the greatest Army that ever he had. And immediately the enemies Scouts came within view, one of whom having been too forward was brought prisoner to *Montrose* by some of his Horse. He being examined told them freely and confidently, that he beleev'd *Bally* and his party were resolv'd to march all that night to engage him to fight as soon as was possible before they dismiss the *Fife-men*, who being already tir'd he hardly beleev'd would be drawne over the *Forth*; accounting their work at an end as soon as the enemy was gone out of their own Country. Therefore *Montrose* that he might get speedily over the *Forth*, bid his men march apace, and going on the other side of *Sterling* (a good Town, and one of the Kings strongest Castles, in which the enemy had now a great garrison) that same night pass'd over the river at a Ford about four miles above the Town. And at break of day next morning made a halt a while about six miles from *Sterling*: where he had intelligence, that the enemy the night before had not come over the *Forth*, but quartered three miles from *Sterling* on the other side of the river. Therefore *Montrose* holding on his intended journey, encamped himself in that fatall place, the Field of *Kilfythe*. He bids the souldiers to refresh themselves, but however to be in a readinesse either to fight or march, as occasion should serve. The enemy the mean while by an easier and shorter cut got over the *Forth* at *Sterling* bridge, and encamped at night some three miles from *Kilfythe*.

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In the interim, the Earl of *Lanerick* Duke *Hamilton's* brother had rais'd a thousand Foot and five hundred Horse of the friends and clients of the *Hamiltons*, in *Clutdsdale* and the places adjacent, and was not at present above twelve miles from *Killythe*. And the Earls of *Cassils*, *Eglington*, and *Glencarne*, with others of the Covenanted Nobility, were engaging the West unto the same impious *Militia*: who were so much the readier to take up armes, by how much they had lesse felt the miseries of warre. Which things being well considered, *Montrose* thought it best to fight with those Forces which *Bailly* had at present. For although they were more numerous then his own, yet the danger was like to be greater of his side, if he should be put to engage with them when *Lanericks* & other parties were come up. But moreover hee was either obliged to take this course or do nothing, and return back into the Highlands with the blemish of that Honour which by so many victories he had achiev'd. The enemy on the other side being arrogant, and confiding in the multitude of their men, beleev'd that *Montrose* had but made a running march the dayes before, and had passed the *Forth* more out of fear then designe, so that they counted it nothing to assault him in that ground and entrenchment which hee had chosen to his best advantage. And above all, their proud hopes were most carefull of this, to block up all wayes of his escape, and to prevent his return into the Mountains. But there are some that say, *Bailly* himself thought it not best to give him battell, but was

was over-sway'd by the authority and votes of the Earl of *Lindsey* especially, and some other of the Nobility that were present in the Army, which forc't him much against stomach to draw up his men, and order the battell as he could. However it was, early in the morning they led their men straight upon *Montrose*: which when he saw, he told the standers by that that was happen'd which he most desired, for now hee could supply his want of men by the advantage of the ground; and therefore he made haste to possesse himself of the fastnesses before them. Moreover hee commands all his men as wel Horse as Foot to throw off their doublets, and to affront the enemy all in white, being naked unto the waste all but their shirts: which when they had chearfully performed, they stood there provided and ready to fight, resolved certainly either to conquer or die.

In the field where they intended to fight there were some Cottages and Country-gardens, where *Montrose* had conveniently lodg'g some few men; and the first design of the enemy was to dislodge them. But it took not, for making a fierce assault and being as stoutly receiv'd, as soon as they were observ'd to cool something of their first heat, those that mann'd the places beat them off, drave them away, and slew them without resistance. The Highlanders being animated with this happy successe, those that were next those places not expecting the word of Command, ran rashly up the hill wick lay open to the whole strength of the enemy. *Montrose* although hee was something troubled at the unseasonable bold-

boldnesse of his men, yet thought it not good to leave them engaged; nor was it easie to say whether the quicknesse of his relief or the cowardlinesse of the enemy conduc'd more to their safety. *Montrose* had in all four thousand four hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse; a thousand of his Foot or more had now by their own fault so engaged themselves with the enemy that they could not come off, for the enemy encounter'd them with six thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse. But the enemies Rear came up but slowly, and while the Van made a stand expecting their advance, *Montrose* had opportunity to bring timely aid to his engaged men. But at last they send out three troops of Horse, and after them two thousand Foot against those rash and almost lost men of *Montrose's*. Which when *Montrose* saw (after others had too dishonourably shifted off that service) he thus bespeaks the Earl of *Airley*: You see (my noble Lord) how yonder men of ours by their unadvisednesse have brought themselves into a most desperate hazzard, and will presently be trampled to dirt by the enemies Horse, except wee relieve them with all speed. Nowv all mens eyes and hearts are fixt upon your Lordship, they thinke you onely worthy so great an honour as to repell the enemy and bring off our fellow souldiers. Besides it seemes most proper for you, that the errour which hath been committed by the foolhardinesse of youth, may be corrected by your Lordships grave and discreet valour. And he undertook the service (as dangerous as it was) with al his heart, and being guarded with a troop of Horse, (in which

bleed
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rode *John Ogleby* of *Baldeby*, who had formerly been a Colonell in *Swetland*, a stout man, and a skilfull souldier) led them on straight upon the enemy. And they giving the charge upon the *Ogleby's*, disputed it sharply with them for a while, but at last being no longer able to withstand their courage, fac't about : whom the *Ogleby's* pursued so hotly, that they made them fall foule upon their owne Foot; and (charging them furiously thorough and thorough) routed them and trode them under foot. By this gallant example of *Atsley* and the *Ogleby's*, *Montrose's* souldiers being enrag'd more and more could no longer be kept back from raising a great shout (as if they had already got the day) and falling on upon the enemy. Nor would the Rebels Horse long abide their charge, but deserting their Foot, fell a running as fast as ever they could: Nor did their Foot after they were so deserted stand it out long, but throwing down their armes sought to save their lives by flight. Which proved unserviceable, for the victorious pursuers had the killing of them for fourteene miles: So that of all the enemies Foot that were present at that battell, it is thought there did not an hundred come off. Nor did their Horse escape very well, of whom some were killed, some taken, the rest disperst. Their Ordnance, their Armes, their Spoiles came clearly to the Conquerours, who lost only six of their side; whereof three were *Oglebyes*, valiant Gentlemen, who fighting like themselves, sealed the victory with their own blood. The rebellious sort of the Nobility (of whom
many

many were in the fight) some of them by their timous running and swiftnesse of their Horses got to the Town and strong Castle of *Sterling*; others escaping to the *Scottish Fyrth* shipt themselves in some vessels that lay at anchor near the shoare: amongst whom *Argyle* (having now this third time been fortunate to a boat) escaped into a ship; and thought himself scarce safe enough so, till weighing anchor he got into the main. Of prisoners, the chief were *Sir William Murray of Blebe*, *James Arnot* brother to the Lord *Burghley*, one *Col. Dice*, and *Col. Wallis*, besides many more, whom *Montrose* after quarter given used courteously, and upon the engagement of their Honours set at liberty. And this is that famous victory of *Kilsyth*, obtained on the 15. day of *September 1645.* in which it is beleev'd no fewer then six thousand Rebels were slain.

C H A P. XIV.

THere was a great alteration all the Kingdome over after this battell at *Kilsyth*: those of the Rebell-Nobility were all of them sore affrighted, some of them fled to *Barnwicke*, some to *Carlisle*, some to *Newcastle*, others into *Ireland*. And such as before only privately wisht wel unto the King, now did no longer fear to shew themselves to expresse their loyalty, to pray openly for his prosperity, and to offer their service. But those that before had sided with the Covenanters began to ask forgiveness, to plead they were constrain'd to take up armes by the violence and tyranny of the Rebels, to
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submit their persons and estates to the Conquerour, humbly to beseech his protection, and implore his wonted clemency. And Cities and Countries that were furthest off began to dispatch their Commissioners to professe in their names their Allegiance to their King, their duty and service to his Vicegerent, and freely to offer him men, arms, provisions, and other necessities of War. The Nobility of the Realm and the Chiefs of Septs came in thick unto the Lord Governour, welcomed him, tendered their service unto him, extoll'd his high and honourable achievements, & thank't him for them. All whom he pardoned for what was past, received them with liberty and indemnity into his protection, and encouraged them to be of good cheer. Nor did he lay any greater burden upon them, then to change that covetous and cruell slavery which they were manacled with by the Rebels, for the sweet and gentle government and protection of a most gracious Prince: and by laying aside all former grudges and feuds, hereafter more religiously to observe their duty and loyalty to the good King; & thenceforward never more to have to do with the counsells of seditious men, who by endeavouring to satisfy their own lusts, had engaged King and Subject one against the other, & upon the matter ruin'd both. For his part hee never had any other intention, then to restore their Religion, their King, their Liberty, his Peers and Countrymen, by Armes (when no other means was left) out of the tyranny of Rebels unto their ancient peace, happinesse, and glory. Which if he should effect, he would give Almighty God, the author of all good things, everlasting praise: but if hee failed

however hee should by these his honest endeavours acquit himself before God, and Gods Vicegerent his Majesty, before all good men, and his posterity, his honour, and his conscience.

At this time the whole Kingdom sounded nothing but *Montrose's* praise. Men of all sorts every where extolling the ingenuity of his disposition in which he out-went all his Equals; the gallantry of his person in war, his patience in travels, his evennesse of spirit in dangers, his wisdom in counsels, his faithfulness to such as submitted, his quicknesse in dispatches, his courtesie to such as he took prisoners, in a word, his truly heroick vertue in all things, and towards all men. And this honour most men gave him in good earnest, & out of a sincere affection, but some in craft & dissimulation; and as every one had wit or skill they set forth his *Encomiums* or *Panegyrics* in Verse or Prose. Yea such is the volubility of humane things, and the inconstancy of the whirling multitude, that they were not affraid openly to curse & raile at the ringleaders and prime men of the Covenanters Faction, such as *Argyle, Lindsey, London*, & others (whom a while agoe they honoured & adored for Saints) as authors of al the mischiefs that had befallne them.

All things going on thus happily, the Northern parts of the Kingdome being secured on his back, the way being opened unto him into the South, the power of the Rebels every where quash't their chief leaders (who in conscience of their guilt despaired of mercy) driven out of the Kingdome, & no considerable party remaining in armes; yet in the West there were some stirres. For the Earls of *Cassile* and

Egling-

Eglinton, and some other promoters of the Covenanters Cause laboured to engage the Countries in a new War, and were said to have rais'd in a tumultuary way the number of four thousand men. Therefore *Montrose* the next day after the battell of *Kilsyth* drevv his men into *Cluidsdale*, from vvhence the Earl of *Lanerick*; being struck vvith the nevves of their late overthrovv, disbanding those men that he had rais'd, vvvas fled. *Montrose* chose that quarter as lying most commodiously for his affaires in the South & West; and marched to *Glasgow*, vvwhich is the principall city of that Countrey. Hee receiv'd the Town into his protection, and entring into it vvith the joyfull acclamations of the people, first of all he restrained his souldiers from plunder, and then being severe against the delinquents, for the terrour of others, he put some of the chiefeft incendiaries of them to death. After that in favour of the Citizens, the next day after he came, hee departed the Town and quartered at *Bothwell*. Where because it was but six miles from the City, lest the Citizens should bee prejudiced by the insolence of the souldiers, he gave them leave to stand upon their guard, and defend the City vvith a garrison of the inhabitants. Hoping vvith such acts of clemency to engage not only the men of *Glasgow* unto himself, but the inhabitants of other Cities also, by good offices more then by force and armes.

At *Bothwell* he staid many dayes, where he received the personall addresses of some of the Nobility, and of others by their Trustees, Friends, and

Messengers; & settled the peace of Towns & Countries thereabouts, who all willingly submitted themselves. The chief of the inhabitants of those parts who came to welcome him, and offer their service were the Marquesse of *Douglasse*, a man of a most noble family, and chief of the *Douglasses*; the Earls of *Limmuck*, *Annandale*, and *Hertfield*; the Lord Barons of *Seton*, *Drummond*, *Fleming*, *Maderty*, *Carnegy*, and *Jonston*; *Hamilton* of *Orbeston*; *Charter* of *Hempfield*, *Toures* of *Innerleigh*, (a most deserving man, who afterwards lost his life gallantly in battell) *Stuart* of *Resyth*; *Dalyell*, a brother of the Earl of *Carnwarth*, Knights: and many more, whose names I can either not rightly call to mind, or else think fit to forbear at present, lest by giving them an unreasonable and thanklesse commendation now whiles they lie under intolerable tyranny, I should do them more harm then honour.

After the victory of *Kilsyth*, no thought had higher place in *Montrose's* noble breast, then the enlargement of such prisoners as for no other fault but the sin of Loyalty had been most basely used, and still expected death, in the grievous and filthy gaole of *Edinburgh*. Therefore hee sends his nephew *Napier* with Col. *Nathaniell Gordon* and a commanded party of Horse to *Edinburgh*, to summon the City and receive it upon surrender, to set the prisoners at liberty, and to settle the Town in peace and loyalty; but in case they stood out and refused to submit, to threaten them with fire and sword. They assoon as they came within four miles of the Town made a stand

stand, (and intended to come no nearer, unlesse they chanced to bee forced unto it by the obstinacy of the Citizens,) as well that at that distance they might the more easily restrain the unrulinesse of the souldier, lest they should wrong the poor inhabitants, & in their fury reduce that cursed City which had been the cause & fomentor off all the Rebellion into ashes, which *Montrose* gave them especially in charge by all means to prevent; as also to preserve the Army safe from the plague, which was hot in the City and places adjacent, and where of very many died every day. As soon as ever the newes of their approach was brought unto the Town, they all began to tremble & despaire of their lives, and to raise a cry as if the swords were already at their throats, or their houses in a flame. Not a few of them being pricked in their guilty consciences, freely & openly accus'd themselves for the most ungratefull, traitorous, sacrilegious, and perjured persons in the world, and unworthy of any mercy. Then applying themselves unto the prisoners they had, both calling unto them afar off, and sending private messengers, they implored their assistance; and besought them in compassion of the poore silly people wwere almost wvasted too wvith a great mortality, to pacifie the anger of the Conquerours wvhom they had most justly incensed: told them, all their hopes lay in them, and they wwere utterly undone wvithout their help. Protested moreover, that if they found mercy but that one tme, they wvould redeem their former revolt wvith more religious fidelity and constant Allegiance ever after. The prisoners (whom but the other day

the basest of the people bitterly abused and reviled, cursing and bequeathing them to the gallows and worse) forgetting all injuries received, & more troubled with the sence then revenge of their sufferings; first rendred hearty thanks to Almighty God who of his mercy shewed unto them that liberty and safety which they little expected; & then turning unto their deadly enemies, bade them *be of good cheare, for the most gracious King (and his Lieutenant Montrose) desired the safety and happinesse of his repenting Subjects, and not their extirpation and ruine. Therefore they advised them immediately to send some delegates to Montrose, humbly to beg his pardon; for nothing could better appease the rage of a Conquerour then a speedy submission. For their parts they would not bee backward to mediate with him for their safety, and doubted not but his high and noble spirit which could not be vanquished with their armes, would yet suffer it self to bee overcome with the prayers and lamentations of men in misery.*

The *Edinburgians* being comforted with these hopes, and assisted with this good advice, immediately call a Hall to consult of sending delegates. There were among the prisoners of those that were most high in birth, and favour with *Montrose*, *Lodowick*, Earl of *Crawford*, Chief of the most ancient and noble family of the *Lindseys*, a man famous for Military service in forraign Nations, amongst the *Swedes*, *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*. This man by the power and cunning of his Cosen the Earl of *Lindsey* (who because hee was greedy of the honour and title of the *Earl of Crawford*, was greedy also of his life) was

was designed by the Covenanters to be put to death. Nor was it for any other crime but for being a Soldier, and an expert man, & one that had done faithful service for his Master the King, and it was feared hee would doe so againe if hee should be suffered to live. There was also *James Lord Ogleby*, son to the Earl of *Airley*, one singularly beloved by *Montrose*, who was formidable both for his fathers and his own vertue and authority. Hee also being an enemy to *Argyle*, both upon old fewds and some freshet wrongs, was just as deep in sin and danger as *Crawford*. These therefore the Common Counsell of *Edinburgh* chose out of the rest of the prisoners, and immediately setting them at liberty, they earnestly pray and beseech them to assist their Delegates to the uttermost of the power they had with the Lord Governour, and to labour to hold his hands off that miserable City, upon which the hand of God himself lay so heavy already. And they curse themselves & theyr posterity to the pit of hell, if they should ever prove unmindful of so great a favour or unthankfull to them that did it. They were not backward to undertake a busines which was so universally desired, but taking the Delegates along with thē went forth to *Napier*. He having by the way delivered his dear father, his wife, his brother-in-law *Sir Sterling Kaer*, and his sisters out of the prison at *Limnuch*, whither the Covenanters had removed them from *Edinburgh* Castle, marched backe unto his uncle with his Forces, and those prisoners now at liberty, & the Delegates of the City, as having done his businesse.

Montrose embracing Cravvford and Ogleby, his dearest friends whom he had long longed for, and rejoycing to see them safe and sound, useth them with all honour and accommodation after their long restraint; and they on the other side magnified their deliverer and avenger with high praises and thanks, (as became them to do,) on both sides affording a spectacle of great joy to the beholders.

Afterwards the Delegates of *Edinburgh* were admitted to audience, and delivered their Message from the Provost and City. The summe was, *They would freely surrender the Town unto the Governor, humbly desired his pardon, promised to be more dutifull and loyall for the time to come; committed themselves and all that they had to his patronage and protection, for which they earnestly besought him.* Moreover they undertooke forthwith to set the rest of the prisoners at liberty according to his appointment, and to doe any thing else that he should enjoyne them. And although the City was so wasted with a grievous contagion that no men could be raised out of it, yet they were ready as far as their share came, to pay contribution to such as should be raised in other places. And above all things they humbly begged at his hands, that hee would labour to mitigate the anger of their most gracious Lord the King, that hee might not be too severe with that City, which by the cunning, authority, and example of a seditious and prevailing party had been engaged in Rebellion. Montrose bade them be confidens of the rest, and required no more at their hands then to bee hereafter more observant of their loyalty to the King, and faithfully to renounce all correspondence with the

the Rebels in armes against him; either without or within the Kingdome; To restore the Castle of Edinburgh (which it was evident was in their Custody at that time) unto the King, and his officers. Lastly, as soon as the Delegates came home, to set the prisoners at liberty and send them to him. And truly as for the prisoners they sent them away upon their return: but as to other Articles they were perfidious, and perjured; and if they doe not repent must one day give an account unto God the assertor of truth and justice for their high ingratitude, and reiterated disloyalty.

Whiles these things passed concerning Edinburgh, Montrose sent away Alexander Mac-donell (to whom hee joyned John Drummond of Ball, a stout Gentleman) into the Western coasts to allay the tumults there, and to spoile the designs of Cassils and Eglington. But they receiving the alarme of Mac-donells approach were immediately disperst in a great fright. Some of the Earls and other Nobles made straight into Ireland, others plaid least in fight in I know not what lurking places. All the Western Countries, the Town of Aire, Irvin and others strove which should first submit, freely offering their fidelity and service. Neither (which was more then hee expected) did Montrose ever finde men better affected to the King then in those Western parts: For most of the Gentry, Knights, and Chiefs of Families, and some also of the prime Nobility came off chearfully to his side. Whose names, which otherwise ought to have been registred with honour, at the present I shal passe by (if not in an acceptable

perhaps, yet certainly in an advantageous silence,)
for I should be loath so honest and loyall soules
should be questioned by their cruell enemies, for
their good affections, upon my information.

C H A P. XV.

Montrose had now taken into his thoughts the
settling of the South-borders, and send unto
the Earls of *Hume*, *Rosborough*, and *Trequaire*, to in-
vite them to associate with him for matter of Peace
and War, and all things that were to be done in the
name and by the authority of the King. These were
not only the powerfullest men in those parts by
reason of the multitude of their friends and their
great retinue, but also made as though they were
most cordiall assertors of the Kings authority. For
besides the bond of Allegiance, which was com-
mon to them with others, they were engaged unto
him by extraordinary benefits. Nor were they on-
ly advanced unto great Honours by him, as being
raised from the order of Knighthood to a high pitch
of Nobility; but were made Governours of the most
gainfull Countries, and by that means being en-
riched above their equals and their own condition,
heaped up wealth indeed unto themselves, but
envy and hatred upon the King. They againe dis-
patch some of their friends of the best quality to
assure him, *That they were ready to undergoe any hazard*
under his conduct and command in the behalf of their
most bountifull King, They promise moreover to raise a world
of men, and nothing hindred their coming up unto the Camp,
if be

if he would but be pleased to draw that way with never so small a party of his forces. And so it would come to passe, that not onely their friends and clients, but the whole Country being animated with his presence and authority, would cheerfully take up armes as one man; and if they stood out they might be compelled, or a course taken with them. Therefore they earnestly besought him to afford them his assistance in this, and in all the rest he should finde them his most faithfull and ready servants. These were fair words, and a first hearing seem'd to carry an honest meaning along with them; but were promised with that kind of faith that the Creatures and Favourites of the too indulgent King are used to keep. And perhaps upon that score he Earl of Lanerick (Duke Hamiltons brother) is more to be commended, whom Montrose having earnestly solicited by friends to come off to the Kings side, although that way he might very likely expect his pardon for what was past, and the releasement of his brother, yet without any dissimulation he gave this peremptory answer, That he would have nothing to doe with that side, and that he would never pretend that friendship which he intended not to preserve. And I would to God all they on whom the good King has too much relied, had delivered themselves with the same candor and plain dealing ever since the beginning of those troubles.

About the sametime Montrose sent the Marquess of Douglass, and the Lord Ogilby over into Anandale and Niddisdale, that there with the assistance of the Earls of Anandale and Hartfield, they might list

list a many souldiers, Horse especially, as they could. And gives them orders withall to march with such as they should so raised towards *Trequare*, *Roxborough*, and *Hume*; that they might engage them without any further put offs in an association with them. For *Montrose* understood a little what Court-holy-water meant, and therefore was something suspicious of the delayes which they fram'd, the rather having had some experience of their cunning and slipperinesse, especially of *Trequare*s. And truly *Douglasse* by the chearfull endeavours of the Earls of *Anandale* and *Hartfield*, had quickly raised a considerable party, if one count them by the head; but they were new men, taken from their plowes and flocks, and but raw soldiers: forward enough at the first charge, but by and by their hearts faile them, and they can by no means be kept to their colours. When *Douglasse* and the rest of the Commanders considered this, they write againe and againe to *Montrose*, that he would make haste after them with his old souldiers towards *Tweed*; for by his presense and authority, and the company and example of the old souldiers, they might be brought either willingly, or whether they would or no to know their duties. In the meane time according to his command they go on to *Strathgale*, freely offering an opportunity and their service (if it needed) to *Roxborough* and *Trequare*, to draw out their men the more easily and timely. But they (good men) who well enough understood the secretest counsels of the Covenanters, and knew that all their Horse would be there immediately

diately out of *England* under the command of *David Lesley*, intended nothing more than to over-reach the King with their old tricks, and to deliver *Montrose* (whose glory they envied) into the hands of his enemies, though not by armes (for that they could not) yet by treachery. To that end they insinuate againe and againe not only unto *Douglass* and his party, but to *Montrose* himself by their friends and frequent messengers, that for their parts they were ready to expose their persons to the utmost hazard, but they could never be able to draw together their friends, clients, and Trained bands, except they were animated and couraged with *Montrose* his presence. And that they might be the better beleaved, they curse themselves to the pit of hell if they did not stand stilly and unalterably to their promise. *Montrose* notwithstanding was not taken with all this, but staid still at *Bothwell*, conceiving that if there were any truth or honesty in their words, *Douglass* and his party who still lay in the Country adjacent, would be sufficient for the raising and encouraging of their friends and dependents.

At length when *Montrose* had quartered a great while at *Bothwell*, most of the Highlanders being loaden with spoile ran privily away from their colours and returned home. Presently after their very Commanders desired Furlochs for a little while, pretending that the enemy had not an Army in the field within the borders of that Kingdom, and therefore their service for the present might well be spared; besides they complained that their houses and
corn,

corn, in and with which their parents, wives children were to be sustained that winter, were fired by the enemy, and no provision made for them, so that they humbly desired to be excused for a few weeks, in which they might take care to secure their families from hunger and cold. Also they solemnly and voluntarily engaged their words, that they would return many more then they went, and much refreshed, within forty dayes. These *Montrose*, seeing he could not hold them, as being Voluntiers & fighting without pay, that he might the more engage them, thought fit to dismisse them not only with Licences but Commissions. And giving publick commendations to the souldiers, and thanks in his Majesties name to the Commanders, exhorting them to follow their businesse closely & vigorously, he appoints *Alexander Mac-donell* their Countriman and Kinsman (who was but too ambitious of that employment) to be their companion and guide, who should bring them back to the Camp by the day appointed. Who in a set speech gave thanks in all their names to the Lord Governour for his so noble favour, and as if he had been their Baile or surety, with a solemne oath undertook for their sudden return: yet hee never saw *Montrose* after. Nor was he contended to carry away with him the whole Forces of the Highlanders, (who were more then three thousand stout mē) but he privily drew away sixscore of the best Irish, as if (forsooth) he had pick't thē out for his Live guard. About this very time many messengers came severall wayes to *Boshevell* from the King at *Oxford*.

Amongst

Amongst whom one was *Andrew Sandiland*, a Scotch-man, but bred in *England*, & entred into holy Orders there, a very upright man, faithfull to the King, and much respected by *Montrose*, who continued constantly with him unto the end of the War. Another was *Sir Robert Spotswood*, once the most deserving President of the highest Court in *Scotland*, and now his Majesties Secretary for that Kingdome; who passed from *Oxford* through *Wales* into *Anglesey*, and thence getting a passage into *Lochaber* came into *Athole*, and was conducted by the men of *Athole* unto *Montrose*. Almost all the Agents that came brought this Instruction amongst the rest, *That it was his Majesties pleasure*, that hee should joine unto himself the Earls of *Roxbourogh* and *Trequare*, and consider in their advice and endeavours; of whose fidelity and industry no question was to be made. Moreover, that he should make haste towards the *Tweed*, where hee should meet a party of Horse which the King would instantly dispatch out of *England* to be commanded by him, with whom hee might safely give battell to *David Lesly*, if (as was suspected) he marched that way with the *Covenanters Horse*. All this the respective bearers unanimously delivered, and his most excellent Majesty being over-credulous signified by his Expresses. And *Montrose* being now overborn with the Kings absolute Commands, takes up his resolution to march to the side of *Tweed*. But the day before he went, the souldiers being drawn up to a *Rendezvouz*, (before that *Mac-donell* and the *Highlanders* were gone) *Sir Robert Spotswood* making
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an humble obedience, under the Kings Standard, delivered his Majesties Commission under the Great Seal unto *Montrose*, which he again gave unto *Archibald Primrose* Clerk of the Supreme Counsell to be read aloud. That being ended in a short but stately Oration, he commended the Valour and Loyalty of the Souldiers, and the great affection he bore them. And for *Mac-donell*, he not only extoll'd his gallantry in the head of the Army, but by virtue of that authority that he had received from the King gave him the honour of Knighthood. For not only *Montrose* but all the Kings friends were confident of the integrity of the man, whose good opinion he receiv'd not only to the undoing of the Kings Cause, but the utter ruine of himself and his friends.

Montrose following his intended journey, came the second night to *Caldes* Castle, at which time the Earl of *Aborne* (whether the Lord Governour would or no) carried away with him not only his own men but all the rest of the Northern Forces, whom he had inveigled to desert the service. Nor would he be perswaded either by reason or the intreaty of his friends (who heartily detested that shamefull act) to stay but so much as one week, and then he might depart not only with the Generals license, but with honour, and the good esteem of honest men. Seeing it would be no better, *Montrose* passing by *Edinburgh*, led his small Army through *Lothianshire*, & in *Strathgale* joyned with *Douglasse* and the other Commanders, whose Forces being much diminished, were daily mouldring more & more. In that coast *Trequear* him-

himself came unto him, more chearfull and merry then he used to be; who pretended himself to be a most faithfull servant not only to his Majesty but also to *Montrose*, and the next day sent him his son the Lord *Linton* with a gallant party of Horse, as if they were to be under his command, that by so likely a pledge he might make *Montrose* more secure, and so more easily ruine him. For this was not the first time that *Trequare* plaid the Covenanters Scout-master: that ungratefulest piece of mankind intending to betray unto the *Montrose*, & in him the King himself.

Now when he was not above twelve miles from the Lord *Hume* and *Roxborough*, and they sent not so much as a Messenger to him, nor offered him the smallest courtesie, *Montrose* being much troubled at it, resolved to march into their Territories, and to bring them in either by faire means or foule. But they prevented him by a singular device; They sent unto *David Lesley* whom they well knew by that time was come to *Bermicke* with all the Scotch Horse, and many English Voluntiers (for they were privy to all their counsells) and entreated him to send a party and carry them away in the condition of prisoners; which he did the day before *Montrose* came thither. For by this means that crafty old fox *Roxborough* (who had *Hume* under his girdle) conceiv'd that they might both ingratiate themselves with the Covenanters, as freely committing themselves into their protection, & yet keep in the Kings favour whiles they made as if they fell into *Lesley's* hands, fore against their wills. And this being *Lesley's* first

noble exploit, he passed over *Tweed* & marched into the East-side of *Lothian*. *Montrose* as soon as he perceived the King and himself betrai'd by these men, and saw no hopes of that party of Horse which was come from the King, and that the too powerfull enemy would block up his passage into the North and Highlands, resolved to march with those few men he had into *Niddisdale* and *Annandale*, and the Countrey of *Ayre*, that he might there raise what Horse he could, for although hee had no certain intelligence concerning the strength of the enemy, yet hee conjectured that it consisted especially in Horse.

C H A P. XVI.

M*ontrose* arising from *Kelsow* marched to *Jedburgh*, and so to *Selkirk*; where he quartered his Horse in a Village, and his Foot in a wood close by. For he was resolved to make sure of all advantages of ground, lest hee should be forced to fight with an enemy of whose strength he knew nothing upon uneven termes. Then he commands the Captains of Horse to set out good store of faithfull and active Scouts, and to place Horse-guards in convenient places on every side, and look well to their watch. All which he in person (as he used to do) could not see done at present, because that night he was dispatching letters to the King, & to send away a trusty messenger that he had light upon, before break of day: therefore he was earnest with them to have the more care, lest the enemy who were very strong in Horse should surprise them unawares. And the

the Commanders promising all care and diligence, he was so taken up with writing of Letters that hee slept not all that night. And sending ever and anon to the Captains of Guards (men that were skilfull Souldiers, and so known to be in forraign Countries) such uncertain noises as were brought unto him of the enemies approach, they being deceiv'd either by the negligence of their Scouts or their own misfortune, very confidently sent him back word there was no enemy in those parts nor in the Country thereabouts. At the break of day some of the best Horse, and most acquainted with the Country were sent out again to Scout; they also brought word they had been ten miles about, and diligently examined all by-ways, and rashly wisht damnation to themselves if they could finde an enemy in armes within ten miles. But afterward it appeared when it was too late, that the enemy with all their Forces were then scarce four miles from *Selkirk*, and had lien there all that night in their arms.

Lesley that day that *Montrose* departed from *Jedburgh*, mustered his men upon *Gladesmore* a plain in *Lothianshire*; were holding a Counsell of War with the chief of the Covenanters, the result was that he should march to *Edinburgh*, & so to the *Forth*, that hee might hinder *Montrose's* retreat into the North, and force him to fight whether he would or no before he joyned with his Highlanders. But *Lesley* contrary to that resolution, gives order on a sudden to his whole Forces to wheel to the left hand, and to march away apace; every one

wondering that knew not the mystery of the business; what should be the meaning of that change of his resolution, and his intention in that sudden expedition, for they marched streight to *Strathgale*. But the matter was, (as they afterward gathered from the enemies themselves) hee had received letters by which he had perfect notice that *Montrose* being attended only with five hundred Foot, and those Irish, and a very weak party of new-raised Horse, might very easily be surpris'd on the borders of *Tweed*, if *Lesley* would make use of that opportunity was offered him to doe his business. Therefore *Lesley* upon this intelligence made haste thither, and (as I said) lodg'd within four miles of *Selkirk*. That *Trequare* sent those letters unto *Lesley*, although it was the generall report, I cannot certainly affirm; but it cannot be denied that that same night he sent his Commands to his son the Lord *Linton* that he should immediately withdraw himself from the Royall party, which with much jollity he did. This was like themselves, being the ungratefulest of all men, deserting their King of whom none had better deserved, and staining their posterity. And truly that morning being very misty gave no small advantage to the treachery of the enemy; whom at last *Montrose's* frighted Scouts discover'd to march towards him in a full body at such time as they were not above half a mile off.

Montrose mounting the first Horse he could light on, gallops into the field appointed for the Rendezvous that morning; where he finds a great deal of
noise,

noise, but no order. The Cavalry being little acquainted with their duty, & lying already disperst in their quarters, where they dream't more of baiting their horses then maintaining their lives and honours; upon the first alarme which they received from the enemies Trumpet, ran disorderly up and down they knew not whither, but never came in the fight. Yet there were a few, and those were for the most part Noblemen or Knights, who made all speed thither and gallantly undertook to make good the right wing: and they were not above sixscore in all. Nor did the Foot who (were about five hundred) make a good appearance, for many of them looking about their private businesses among the Carriages, by that unseasonable care of saving, lost themselves and all they had. And, which spoiled the matter which was bad enough before, most of the Commanders were absent & never came in the field. Besides, the enemy coming on so speedily left them no time for deliberation. The enemy therefore who were six thousand (whereof most were Horse out of *England*) furiously charging *Montrose's* right wing were twice gallantly received and repulst with no small losse. Nor could they make that noble Troop give any ground, or break through it, untill at last laying along those few Foot that withstood them, they broke in upon the left flank vvhere there vvvas no Horse. By this, tvvo thousand Horse whom the enemy had sent over to the other side of the river vvvere gotten on the Rear of those noble Gentlemen, who, lest being hemb'd in on every side, & gall'd

with the enemies shot at distance, they should fall for nothing and unreveng'd, withdrew themselves every one the best way he could. But the Foot who could have little security by flight, fighting a good while stoutly & resolutely, at last upon quarter ask't and given for their lives, threw down their armes and ycelled themselves prisoners. Every one of whom being naked and unarm'd, without any regard to quarter given, *Lesley* caused to be most unhumanely butcher'd. The stain of which perfidious cruelty (by which he hath so filthily blurr'd his honour, if any he got in forraign service) he shal never be able to wipe away. As for those that escaped out of the battell the enemy pursued them no further, being busie in plundering the Carriages, where they made a lamentable slaughter of Women, Pe-dees, and Cook-boyes: no pity vvas shovvn to sex nor age, they vvent to the pot altogether. The number of the slain is not easie to be given, almost no Horse, and very fevv Foot (besides those that ycelled themselves and had quarter) fell in that battell: vvhich may appear by this, that they vv ere no more then five hundred in all, & before the next day tvvo hundred and fifty of them came safe to *Montrose*, of all them vvith their svvords by their sides, so that there could not be as many more missing: and very fevv vv ere taken prisoners, and not untill their horses being tired, and themselves ignorant of the vvay, they became a prey to the country people. Whom they, forgetting all the benefits & protection they had but nevvy received from *Montrose*, to do
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the Covenanters a favour, delivered up unto their cruell enemies, to be made by them acceptable sacrifices to *Baal-Berith*, the god of the Covenant.

For all that, the Rebells conquerours missed of the Kings Standards. The one of them (vvhich vvas carried before the Foot) vvas preserved by an Irish foldier, a stout man, & of a present spirit vvhen others vvvere almost beside themselves; vvho vvhen he savv that the enemy had got the day, stript it off the staffe and vvrapped it about his body: and being othervvise naked, made his vvay vvith his dravvn sword through the thickest of the enemy, and brought it to *Montrose* at night. Whom he received into his Life-guard, and gave it him to carry in token of his valour and loyalty. And the other of them *William Hie* brother to the Earl of *Kinoule*, a hopefull young Gentleman (vvho succeeded his uncle by the mothers side, *Douglasse* son to the Earl of *Morton*, vvho having receiv'd many and grievous vvounds at the battell of *Alford*, vvvas rendred unable for that burden) stript from off the staffe too, and carried it avvay vvith him. And conveighing himself into the borders of *England*, skulked there a vvhile till the coast was a little clearer about *Tweed*, and then through by-wayes and night journies for the most part, (being accompanied & couducted by his faithfull friend *Robert Toures*, a stout man and a good souldier, who had been a Captain in *France* a good while ago) returned into the North, and presented that same Royall Standard unto the Generall.

And now at last *Montrose* when he saw his men

totally routed and put to flight (which he never saw before) thought of nothing more for a good space then to die honourably, and not unrevenge'd; therefore rallying about thirty Horse vvhom he had gathered up in that confusion, he resolved by fair and honourable death to prevent his falling alive into the enemies hands. And seeing he vvas not able to break through the enemies Troops (vvho stood thick round about him) he gall'd them on the Front, and Rear, and Flanks, and of such as vvvere so hardy as to adventure out of their ranks, many he slew, others he beat back. But vvhen all that he could do vvould not do his businesse, as God vvould have it this consideration possessed his resolute and noble spirit; *That the losse of that day was but small and easily regained, because but an inconsiderable part of his Forces vv ere there. That the Highlanders vv ere the very nerves and sinewes of the Kingdome, and all the North was sound and untouch't. That many of the prime Nobility and men of power, many Knights too and Chiefs of their Septs had entered into an association with him; vvho if he should miscarry vv ould be suddenly ruined or corrupted, and by that means the Kings party in Scotland utterly subdued. Therefore he thought himself bound never to despair of a good Cause, and the rather lest the King his Master should apprehend the losse of Him to be greater then the losse of the battell.* And vvwhile these thoughts vv ere in his head, by good hap came in the Mar-quesse Douglass and Sir John Dalrymple, vvith some other friends (not many but fatihfull & gallant men) vvho vvith tears in their eyes (out of the abundance of

of their affection) beseech, intreat, implore him for his former atchievements, for his friends sakes, for his Ancestors, for his sweet wife & childrens sakes, nay for his Kings, his Countries, and the Churches peace and safeties sake, that hee would look to the preservation of his person: considering that all their hopes depended on him alone under God, and that their lives were so bound up with his, that they must all live or die together. At last Montrose overcom with their intreaties, charging through the enemy (who vv ere by this time more taken up vvith ransacking the Carriages then following the chase) made his escape: of those that vv ere so hardy as to pursue him, some hee slew, others (among vvhom vv as one Bruce a Captaine of Horse, and tvvo Cornets vvith their Standards) he carried avway prisoners. Whom he entertained courteously, and after a fevv dayes dismiss them upon their *Parole*, that they should exchange as many Officers of his of the like quality, vvich *Parole* they did not over-punctually perform.

Montrose vv as gotten scarce three miles from *Selkirk* vvhen hee having overtaken a great number of his ovvn men that vv ent that vvay, he made a pretty considerable party; so that being novv secure from being fallen upon by the Country people, he march't avway by leisure. And as he vv ent by the Earl of *Trequaires* Castle (by vv whose dishonesty he did not yet knowv that he had been betrai'd) he sent one before him to call forth him and his son that he might speak vvith them; but his servants bring vvord that they vv ere both from home. Notwithstanding there

are Gentlemen of credit that testifie, that they were both within, nor did that gallant Courtier only bid the Rebells joy of their victory, but was not ashamed to tell abroad (not without profuse and ill becoming laughter) that *Montrose* & the Kings forces in *Scotland* vvvere at last totally routed; his ovvn daughter the Countesse of *Queensborough*, as far as modestly she might, blaming him for it. *Montrose* after he had made a halt a vvvhile near a Town called *Peblis*, untill the souldiers had refresh't themselves & vvvere fit to march, many flocking to them from every side, at Sun-set they all stoutly entered the Town; and by break of day next morning (by the conduct of Sir *John Dalyell* especially) passed over *Cluid* at a ford. Where the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airley* having escaped another vvway met vvwith him, making nothing of the losse of the battell assoon as they sayv him out of danger. Nor vvvas he lesse joyfull at the safety of his friends, then that he had sav'd & pick't up by the vvway almost two hundred Horse. But although hee vvvas already secure enough from the pursuit of the enemy, neverthelesse he resolved to make vvwhat haste hee could into *Alhole*; that taking his rise there, he might dravv vvwhat forces he could raise of the Highlanders, & other friends into the North. Therefore passing first over the *Forth*, and then the *Ern*, having marched through the Sherifdome of *Perth* by the foot of the Mountains, he came thither. As he vvvas on his vvway, he had sent before him *Douglasse* and *Airley* vvwith a party of Horse into *Angus*, and the Lord *Areskin* into *Marre*, that they

they might speedily raise their friends and dependents in those parts; and had also sent Sir *John Dallyell* unto the Lord *Carnegy* (with whom he had lately contracted affinity) with Commissions to that purpose. Moreover he sent letters to *Mac-donell*, to require him according to his promise to return with the Highlanders by the day appointed. But above all he solicited *Aboine* both by letters and speciall messengers, that he would bring back his friends and clients, who were willing enough of themselves, and wanted no other encouragement then his authority and example.

C H A P. XVII.

IT was towards the latter end of Harvest, nor was the corn reapt in that cold Country, nor their houses and cottages which the enemy had burnt repaired against the approaching winter (which is for the most part very sharp thereabouts,) which made the *Athole*-men to abate some thing of their wonted forwardnesse. Yet *Montrose* prevailed so far with them, that they furnished him with four hundred good Foot, to wait upon him into the North where there was lesse danger, and faithfully promised him upon his return, when he was to march Southward, hee should command the whole power of the Country.

Mean time frequent expresses came from *Aboine* that hee would wait upon him immediately with his Forces; and *Mac-donell* promised no lesse for himself and some other Highlanders. *Areskin* signified

fied also unto him that his men vvere in a readinesse, and vwaited for nothing but either *Aboines* company (vvho vvas not far off) or *Montrose* 's commands. About this time there vvere very hot but uncertain report of a strong party of Horse that vvere sent him from the King vvhom many conceived not to be far from the South-borders. But other newes they had which was too certain , to wit , that there was a most cruell butchery of what prisoners the Rebels had , without any distinction of sex or age : some falling into the hands of the Country people, were basely murdered by them ; others who escap't them (and found some pity in them that had so little) being gathered together, were by order from the Rebell Lords throwne head-long from off a high bridge , and the men together with their wives and sucking children drown'd in the river beneath ; and if any chanced to swim towards the side , they were beaten of with pikes and staves , and thrust down again into the water. The Noble men and Knights were kept up in nasty prisons to be exposed to the scorne of the vulgar , and certainly doom'd at last to lose their heads. *Montrose* was never so much troubled as at this sad newes.

Therefore to the end he might some way relieve his distressed friends , being impatient of all delay, with wonderfull speed he climbs over *Gransbaine*, and passing through the plains of *Marre* and *Strathdone*, maketh unto the Lord of *Aboine*, that he might encourage him by his presence to make more hast into the South. For his design was, as soon as hee had

had joyned his forces with *Areskins* and *Airleys*, and sent for *Mac-donell* and other Highlanders; & taken up the *Athole*, men by the way, to march in a great body straight over the *Forth*, and so both to meet the Kings Horse, and to fright the enemy, upon their apprehension of an imminent danger to themselves, from putting the prisoners to death. For he conceived they durst not be so bold as to execute their malice upon men of Nobility and Eminency, as long as they had an enemy in the Field, and the victory was uncertaine. And truly, they being doubtfull and solicitous what might be the successe of so great warlike preparations they knew were in providing, did deferre the execution of the prisoners. *Montrose* upon his journey found the Lord *Areskin* very sick, but his clients (whose fidelity and valour hee had had sundry experiences of, even in the absence of their Lord) all in a readinesse if *Aboine* did but doe his part; for they depended much upon his example and authority. And now the Marqueesse of *Hunsley*, after he had plaid least in fight for a year and some moneths, (it is hard to say, whether awaken'd with the newes of so many victories obtain'd by *Montrose*, and the reducing of the Kingdome, or by the deceitfull influence of some bad starre) was returned home. An unfortunate man & unadvised, who howsoever hee would seem most affectionate unto the Kings Cause (& perhaps was so,) yet he endeavoured by a close and dishonourable envy, rather to extenuate *Montroses* glory then to out-vie it. Which seeing it was not for his credit openly to professe
even

even before his own men (who were sufficient witnesses of *Montrose's* admirable virtues) lest by that he should discover some symptomes of a heart alienated from the King; yet he gave out, that for the time to come he would take upon himself the conduct of that War against the Rebels; therefore he commanded his Tenants, and advised his friends and neighbours; scarce without threats, to fight under no command but his own. And when they replied, *What shall wee then answer to the Commands of the Marquess of Montrose whom the King hath declared Generall Governour of the Kingdome, and Generall of the Army?* He made answer, *That he himself would not be wanting to the Kings service; but however it concerned much both his and their honour, that the King and all men should know what assistance they had given him, which could not otherwise be done then by serving in a body by themselves.* Moreover he fell to magnifie his own power, and to undervalue *Montrose's*, to extoll unto the skies the noble Acts of his Ancestors, (men indeed worthy of all honour,) to tell them, *That the Gordons power had been formidable to their neighbours for many Ages by gone, and was so yet; That it was most unjust that the achievements gotten with their blood and prowess, should be accounted upon another mans (meaning Montrose's) score: but for the future he would take a course, that neither the King should be defrauded of the service of the Gordons; nor the Gordons of their deserved honour, favour, and reward.*

All these things the simpler sort tooke to be spoken upon all the grounds of equity & honour in the

the world; but as many as were understanding men, and knew better the disposition of the person, saw through those expressions a minde too rancorous & altogether indispos'd towards *Montrose*, and that his aime was to fetch off as many as he could from him, not only to the utter ruine of the King and Kingdome, but even to his own destruction: which (God knowes) the sad event made too manifest. Nor were there wanting amongst them desperate men and of good fore-sight, who condemned this counsell of his as unwise, unseasonable, and pernicious even to himself. For they considered with themselves that *he never had any designe that did not miscarry either by bad play or bad luck. That busineses were better carried by Montrose, and it was ill to make a faction upon the poore pretence of his carrying away the honour of it. For if Huntley joyned his Forces, and communicated his counsels unto Montrose, he should not be onely able to defend himself, but subdue his enemies, and gaine unto himself the everlasting honour of being one of the Kings Champions; but if he should make a breach in that manner, it would prove not onely dishonourable but destructive to him. That Montrose (it could not be denyed) had got many and eminent victories with the assistance of the Huntleys, but they had done nothing of note without him. Therefore they earnestly desired him, constantly to adhere unto the Kings Lieutenant, which as it would be both acceptable and advantageous to the King, so it would be well taken with good men, and honourable to himself. Nor did some of them fear to professe openly, that they would yeeld their duty and service to Montrose, if Huntley should stand*

stand out in his humour; and they were as good as their words. But he refusing the advice of his friends resolved what ever came on't to run counter too *Montrose*; nor did *Montrose* ever propose any thing though never so just, or honourable, or advantageous, which he would not crosse or reject. And if at any time *Montrose* condescended to his opinion, (which he did often & of purpose) he would presently change his minde; seeming to comply with him sometimes before his face, but alwayes averse unto him behinde his backe, and indeed scarce wel agreeing with his own self.

For all this, *Aboine* being at that time solicited by many expresses from *Montrose*, and the importunity of his own friends (that he might be some way as good as his word) met him with a considerable party at *Druminore*, a Castle of the Lord *Forbeses*. He brought with him fifteen hundred Foot and three hundred Horse, all chearfull and ready to undergoe any hazard under the command of *Montrose*. And truly as soon as ever they met, *Aboine* freely protested hee would carry those men that hee had whithersoever the Lord Governour should lead him; but there were many more behinde (which for his scantnesse of time he had not got together (which his brother *Lewis* would bring after him. *Montrose* extolling highly his fidelity and pains, turned back again almost the same way he came; that taking up the Lord *Areskins*, and the *Marre* Forces by the way, and climbing over *Gransbaine*, hee might fall down into *Athole* and *Angus*, not doubting vvithin
a fort-

a fortnight to be able to passe over the *Forth* with a great Army. The first dayes journey *Aboine* and his men marched with a good will, but the next night his brother *Lewis* (whom *Montrose* had placed under the command of the Earl of *Crawford*) conveyed himself homewards with a strong party of Horse, making as if he meant to encounter some Troops of the Enemy, and carried along with him as many Souldiers as he could get upon pretence of a guard. *Crawford* returning brought word that *Lewis* was gone home, but would be back again next day, for so he had made him beleeve though he intended nothing lesse then to come back; (A youth liable to sensure for more feats then that.) But when upon the third day they came to *Alford*, it was observed that *Aboine's* men were slow to stand to their colours, that they loytered in their march, that their ranks were thin and disorder'd and that they ran away by whole Companies almost every night: and at last their Commander *Aboine* himself was not ashamed to desire to be excused, and to have leave to depart. When all men wondred, and desired to know what might be the reason of that sudden alteration of his resolution, he pleaded his fathers Commands, which he was obliged in no case to disobey; and that his father had not sent him such directions without just occasion: for the Enemies Forces lay in lower *Marre*, and would be presently upon their backs, if they were deprived of the protection of their own men: and that it was unexcusable folly for him to carry his men another way when his own Country was in so much danger. *Montrose* reply'd, That it was most certaine that onely a few Troops of Horse kept within *A-*

berdence, that they had no Foot at all, & those few Horse nor
durst nor could doe the Country any harme; and there was no
doubt but upon the first Alarme of his Approach, their Comman-
ders would send for those also to secure the Low-lands. Besides,
that it would be much more to the *Marquesse of Huntleys*
advantage, if the seat of warre were removed into the Enemies
Country then be kept up in his own: and upon that score there
was more need to make haste into the South, that they might
save the North for the burden of the Armies? He added
moreover, That he daily expected aids out of England,
which could by no means joyne with them except they met
them on the South-side of the Forth. And at last with
much resentment he represented unto him, the condi-
tion of the prisoners (who were many of them *Huntleys*' own
kindred, allies, or friends) who would all be unhumanely mur-
dered except they timely prevented it. To all this when
Aboine had nothing to answer, he desired his Father
might be acquainted with the whole matter, and 'twas
granted: Such were made choise of to treat with
Huntley as were conceived to be highest in his favour,
to wit, *Donald Lord Rese*, in whose Country he had so-
journed, and *Alexander Irwin* the younger of *Drumme*,
who had but the other day married *Huntleys* daugh-
ter: and both of them were also much obliged to
Montrose for their newly recovered liberties.

Rese being ashamed of receiving the repulse had not
the confidence to return; and *Irwin* (a noble young
Gentleman, and a stout, who stuck to *Montrose* to the
last) brought no answer but his father-in-lawes am-
biguous Letters of which no hold could be taken.
Being desired to deliver what he conceived his father

in lawes resolution vvas; he professed ingenuously he knew not vwhat to make of him, he could ger no certain answer, but doubted he vvas obstinate in his fond conceit. *Aboine*, first declaring howv fore against his will it vvas to part vvith *Montrose*, urged howv necessary it vvas for him to please his dear father, vvho vvas sickly too : and therefore more earnestly desired the Lord Governour to dispence vvith him fora fevv dayes till he could pacifie his father, & made an absolute promise, that within a fortnight he vvould follow him with much stronger forces. And whē he had oftē and freely engaged his honour to do as he said, he extorted with much adoe a Furlogh from *Montrose* sore against his stomach, to be absent for the time aforesaid.

Aboine being returned home, *Montrose* marched over the planes of *Marre* & *Scharfschloch* & came down into *Athole*: and thence (having a little increased his Army) into the Sherifdome of *Perth*, where receiving an expresse out of the North he is put into new hopes, *Aboine* having sent him word he would be with him with his men before the day appointed. At the same time came unto him by severall wayes Captain *Thomas Ogleby* of *Pourie* the younger, and Captain *Robert Nesbit*, both of them sent unto him from his Majesty with Commands, that if he could possibly, he should make all speed towards the Borders to meet the Lord *George Digby* son to the Earl of *Bristol*, who was sent unto him with a party of Horse.

The same bearers *Montrose* dispatcheth to *Huntley* and *Aboine*, to communicate unto them those Instructions from the King, hoping by that means,

that being quickened with his Majesties authority, and the approach of aid, they would make more haste with their forces, in the vain expectation of whom he had trifled away too much time in *Strath-erne*.

About this time the Lord *Napier* of *Marchiston* departed this life in *Athole*; a man of a most innocent life and happy parts; a truly noble Gentleman, and Chief of an ancient family; one who equalled his father & grandfather *Napiers* (Philosophers and Mathematicians famous through all the world) in other things, but far exceeded them in his dexterity in civill businesse; a man as faithfull and as highly esteemed by King *James* and King *Charles*: sometime he was Lord Treasurer, and was deservedly advanced into the rank of the higher Nobility; and since these times had expressed so much loyalty and love to the King, that he was a large partaker of the rewards which Rebels bestow upon vertue often imprisonment, sequestration, and plunder. This man *Montrose* when he was a boy look'd upon as a most tender father, when he was a youth as a most sage admoniter, when he was a man as a most faithfull friend, and now that he died was no other wise affected with his death then as if it had been his fathers. Whose most elaborate discourses *Of the Right of Kings*, and *Of the Originall of the troubles in Great Britaine*, I heartily wish may sometime come to light.

CHAP. XVIII.

M*ontrose* when he had waited for *Aboine* with his forces out of the North now three weeks, either

ther on his march or in *Strath-erne*; and perceived that the Rebels began to grow more outrageous towards the prisoners being impatient of further delay crosseth over the *Forth*, and came into *Leven*; & he encamped upon the land of *Sir John Buchanan* the Ringleader of the Covenanters in those parts, expecting that by that meanes, lying so near *Glasgow*, he might fright the Rebels (who then kept a Convention of Estates there) from the murder of the prisoners. To which end facing the City every day with his Horse, he wasted the enemies Country without any resistances although at that time for the guard of the Estates and City they had three thousand Horse in their quarters, and he not full three hundred, & twelve hundred Foot. Notwithstanding before his coming down into *Leven*, the Covenanters as soon as they understood that *Huxley* & *Montrose* agreed not, and that *Abine* and his men had deserted him in upper *Marre*, as a prologue to the ensuing Tragedy, had beheaded three stout and gallant Gentlemen.

The first was *Sir William Rollock*, one of whom we have had often occasion to make honorable mention; a valiant & expert man, dear unto *Montrose* from a childe, and faithfull unto him to his last breath. The chief of his crimes was that he would not pollute his hands with a most abominable murder. For being sent from *Montrose* with an expresse to the King after the battell of *Aberdene*, he was taken prisoner by the Enemy, & was condemned unto death, which he had not escaped except for fear of death he had harkened unto *Argyle*, (who most unworthily set a price upon

Montroses head, and promised great rewards, honours, and preferments to whomsoever should bring it in) and had taken upon himself to commit that treason which he abhorred with all his soule. By which shift having his life & liberty givē him, he returned straight to *Montrose*, and discovered all unto him, beseeching him to be more carefull of himself, for not he onely (vvho heartily detested so high a villany) but many more, had been offered great matters, most of whom would use their best endeavours to dispatch him.

The next was *Alexander Ogleby*, of whom we also spake before, eldest son to Sir *Iohn Ogleby* of *Innecarrit*, descended of an ancient family, and much renowned in the *Scottish Chronicles*. He was but yet a youth (scarce twenty,) but valiant above his age, and of a present and daring spirit. Nor can I hear or so much as conjecture what they had to day to his charge, but that new and unheard of Treason, to wit, his bounded duty and loyalty to his King. But there vvvas no help for't but *Argyle* must needs sacrifice that hopeful youth if it had been for nothing but his names sake, for he bare an implacable feud to the *Oglebys*. The third vvvas Sir *Philip Nesbit*, of an ancient family also, and Chief of it next his Father; who had done honourable service in the Kings Army in *England*, and had the command of a Regiment there. Nor can I discover any reason they had to put him to death neither, (besides that which is used when they have nothing else to say, that mad charge of the new high Treason, except it was that their guilty consciences suggested unto them that that courageous and vigilant man might take

take occasion sometime hereafter to be even with the
 for the horrid injuries they had done his Father & his
 Family. However these men suffer'd a noble death
 with patience and constancy, as became honest men
 and good Christians. And unto these there are two
 brave Irish Gentlemen that deserve to be joyned, Co-
 lonell *O-Caben* & Colonel *Laghlin*, odious unto the Re-
 bels only for this impardonable crime, that they had
 had many experiments of their courage and gallantry.
 These Irish Gentlemen were murder'd indeed at *Ed-
 inburgh*, but many more were doom'd to the like exe-
 cutiō at *Glasgow* had not *Motrofs* unexpected approach
 within a few miles of the City had so much influence
 that it repriev'd them till another time. The Lord Go-
 vernour was very much perplexed with the newes of
 these mens death, & it was a question whether he was
 more vex't at the cruelty of the Rebels, or the negligē-
 ce if not treachery of his friends. For besides *Huntley*,
 whose Forces he had so long in vaine expected to co-
 me with his son *Aboine*, *Mac-donell* also himself (of who
 he entertained an exceeding good opinion) being ostē-
 sent unto, & invited also by the nearness of the place,
 although the time appointed by himself was already
 past & gone, made no appearance of his approach. Six
 weeks had now passed since *Aboine* had engaged him-
 self for the Northern Forces & the winter (then which
 our age never saw sharper) was already deeply entred.
 Besides the aids that the King had sent under the com-
 mād of the Lord *Digby* were defeated: al which might
 easily have been salv'd, and the Kingdome reduced a-
 gaine, if those great Professors of loyalty had not plaid

loose in that good Cause. Therefore at last on the 20. of November, *Montrose* departing from *Levin*, and passing over the Mountains of *Taich*, now covered with deep snow, through woods and bogges whose names I do not at this time well remember, crossing also through *Strath-Erne* & over the *Tay*, returned into *Athole*. There he met Captain *Ogleby* and Captain *Nesbit*, whom he had formerly sent with the Kings instructions unto *Huntley*. And they bring word the man was obstinate and inflexible, who would beleieve nothing that they said; & when they unfolded unto him the Kings Commands answered scornfully. That he understood all the Kings businesse better then they or the Governour himself; and neither he nor any of his Children should have any thing to doe with him. Moreover he sharply & threateningly reproved his friends & clients, who had willingly assisted *Montrose*, and dealt worse with them then with Rebels. Neverthelesse the Lord Governour thought best to take no notice of any of these things, but bear with them; & whiles he treats with these *Athole* men for the setting of the Militia of that Countrey, he sends again unto *Huntley* by Sir *John Dallyell*, as a more fit mediator of friendship. Who was To informe him of the danger the King and Kingdome was in, and so of the present misery that hung over his & all faithfull Subjects heads; and to make it appear unto him that it was no ones but his and his sons fault, both that they had not brought in the supplies into Scotland which the King had sent, and that the prisoners, who were gallant and faithfull men, had been so cruelly butchered; and that yet there were many more remaining that had near relations to *Huntley* himself & some also

of the prime Nobility, whom the Rebels would cut off after the same fashion unlesse they were now at last relieved. And lastly, to pray and beseech him that at least he would grant the Kings Governor the favour of a friendly conference, promising he would give him abundant satisfaction.

Huntley although he answered *Dalyel* in all things according to his wonted peevishnesse, yet he was most of all averse to a Conference; as fearing (seeing he should have nothing to answer to his arguments and reasons) the presence, the confidence, and the wisdom of so excellent a man. But *Montrose*, as soon as things were settled in *Athole*, that he might leave nothing unattempted that might possibly bring him to better thoughts; resolved, dissembling all injuries, and obliging him by all good offices, to surprise him, and be friends with him whether he would or no; and to treat with him concerning all things that concern'd his Majesties service. Therefore in the moneth of *December* he forced his way very hardly through rivers and brooks, that were frozen indeed, but not so hard as to bear menswaight, over the tops of hills and craggy rocks, in a deep snow; and passing through *Angus* and over *Gransbaine*, drew his Forces into the North: and almost before he was discover'd marched with a few men into *Strathbogy*, where *Huntley* then liv'd. But he being struck with his unexpected approach, upon the first newes he heard of him, lest he should be forced to a Conference against his will, immediately fled to *Bogie*, a Castle of his situated upon the mouth of the *Spey*; as if he intended to ferry over the river and to wage war against the Rebelles in *Murray*.

And

And now it comes into my minde briefly to enquire what might be the reason why *Huntley* bore such a spleen against *Montrose*, who had never givē him any distaste, but had obliged him with courtesies many times undeserved. Nor could I ever hear nor so much as guesse at any other cause but a weak and impotent (emulatio I cannot call it, but) envy of his surpassing worth & honour. For I should be loath to say that his minde was ever alienated from the King, but onely averse unto *Montrose*; with the unjust hatred of whom he was so possess'd, that he precipitated himself into many unexcusable mistakes; insomuch as he desired rather all things were lost then that *Montrose* should have the honour of saving them. And now being already puffed up with an unbeseeming conceit of himself, he was the more exceedingly enraged against him upon the remembrance of those injuries and disgraces he had heretofore throwne upon him; & that was the chief reason (as I take it) that he so often avoided the sight of him. For, besides what we have occasionally delivered, both the father and the sons had put neither few nor small affronts upon the Kings Vicegerent; some few of which it will not be out of our way to relate.

The great guns which we told you *Montrose* had hid in the ground the last year, they digging them up without his knowledge, carried away in a kinde of triumph, and disposed of them in their owne Castles as if they had been spoiles taken from the Enemy, and would not restore them upon demand. But those *Montrose* had got in the fights at *Saint Iohan towne* and at *Aberdene*; in the former of which there was never a man present of that Family, and in the other *Lewis Gordon* and his men fought on the enemies side. Besides they so converted unto their own use the Gunpowder, and Arms, and other necessities of War, which were gained from the enemy, and only deposited in their Castles as in safe and convenient store-houses, that they would never make any restitution of the least part of them when they were desired. Moreover *Aboine* upon his returne home after the victory of *Kilsythe* set at liberty the Earle of *Keith* Lord Marshall of *Scotland*, and the Lord Viscount *Arbuthnot*, & other men

men of quality of the Enemies side who were within his custody, without acquainting the Governour of the Kingdome, and his brother-in-law young *Drumme* (who by chance was present) earnestly declaring his dislike of it. Vpon what termes he did it, it is uncertain, but this is evident, that (besides the affront done to the Lord Gouvernour, and the losse of *Dunotter Castle*, which was of great strength and concernment in that Warre, & other Military advantages they got by it) the Rebells would never have had the boldnesse to fall so cruelly upon the Prisoners, if he had but kept them in safe custody.

Yet more, by his own private authority, he exacted Tributes, and Customes, and Taxes, (which the Governour himself had never done) upon pretence indeed of maintaining the War, but in truth to far other uses, and to the grievous prejudice of the Kings cause. Last of all (which is most to be lamented) either at the intreaty of the enemy, or for smal sums of money, they had enlarged the prisoners that had been taken in the former Battells in the North, and committed to custody in their Castles. Nor would they permit them to *Montroses* disposall, though being prisoners of Warre he had reserved the for that only purpose, by exchanging them to save the lives of Gallant and deserving men. *Huntley* being pricked in his conscience about all these things, was alwayes as afraid of *Montroses* presence as of a Pest-house.

But *Montrose* for all that, passing by injuries, and laying aside all other matters, bestowed his whole endeavours in the promoting of the Kings service. And to that end he was resolved to intrude himself into his company though never so unwelcome, to insinuate into his friendship upon any conditions, to yeeld unto him in all things, and to deny nothing so that he might qualifie

qualifie *Huntleys* imbitr'd spirit. Therefore leaving his Forces in their quarters, he posted early in the morning with a few Horse unto *Bogie*, and by his undream't of approach prevented *Huntley* of any opportunity of flying or hiding himself. As soon as they met *Montrose* forgetting all that was past, invited him in smooth and gentle language to associate with him in the War for the safety of the King & Kingdome; & gave him so full satisfaction in all things, that as being at last overcome he seem'd to give him his hand. And promised that not only all his men but he himself would come in person in the head of them, and be with him with all possible speed. Afterward they laid their heads together concerning the manner of managing the War, and agreed that *Huntley* wasting over the *Spey* should make his way on the right hand by the sea coast of *Murray*, and *Montrose* was to go round about on the left hand through *Strath-Spey*, which was at that time of the year a very tedious and difficult march; and so the design was to besiege *Innerness*, a Garrison of the Enemies, on both sides: and in the mean time to draw the Earl of *Seaford* either by faire means or foule to their side. That Garrison however it might appear to be otherwise strong and well fortified, yet was very ill provided for victuall and other requisites, which in that sharp Winter & tempestuous Sea could hardly be had. And so now they seem'd to be agreed in all things so that *Aboine* and his brother *Lewis* vvil'd a damnatiō to themselves if they did not continue constant in their fidelity & service to *Montrose* to their utmost breath. And the rest of the *Gordons*, the Marquess

ses friends, were surpris'd with incredible joy, & mad as much of their Lord and Chief, as if he had been returned from the dead.

C H A P X I X.

Montrose supposing *Huntleys* spirit at last pacified, and seriously inclined to joyne with him in the prosecution of the Warre, marched with his Forces through *Strath-Spey* towards *Inverness*. And the more to a muse the Enemy on every side, he lent his cousin *Patrick Graham* (of whose worth I have had often occasion to speak) and *Iohan Drummond* of *Ball* the younger (a Gentleman of approved trust and valour, who had often done excellent service) with authority and Commission unto the *Athole*-men, that if any should offer to stirre in those parts they should neglect no opportunity to suppress them. The *Athole*-men being encouraged by their authority & example, shewed themselves very ready and chearfull: And they wanted not long an occasion to shew it, for the remainder of the *Argyllian* party (either by reason of a Generall scarcity of all things in their own Country, or being driven out of their Country for fear of *Macdonell*, who was very strong, and threatned their ruin) fell upon the *Macgregories* and *Macnabis* who sided with *Montrose*. And afterward joyning unto themselves the *Stuart* which inhabite *Balwidir*, and the *Menises*, and other Highlanders who stil followed *Argyles* fortune, were reported to make up some fifteen hundred men; and were ready to invade *Athole*,
unlesse

unlesse timely opposed. And truly they had already fir-
 red an Iland in *Logh-Torchet* after they had taken it by
 force & pillaged it, & had besieged *Ample Castle* which
 lyeth on the side of the river of that name. Which as
 soon as they had intelligence of, the *Athole-men*, be-
 ing only seven hundred in all, under the command
 of the aforesaid *Graham & Drummond*, thought best to op-
 pose them before they brake in into their Countrey.
 They upon the alarme of the advance of the *Athole-men*
 raised the siege of *Ample* & retreated toward *Taich*. The
Athole-men pursued them hotly, & finde them in bat-
 tell-array not farre from *Kalendar* a Castle of *Taich*. For
 they had possessed a ford, and manned the bank on the
 other side (which was fortified with a steep hill) with
 a number of musquetiers. Which when the *Athole-men*
 saw, & perceived that their Forces were not so strong
 as was reported (for they had not above twelve hun-
 dred men) although they themselves were scarce se-
 ven hundred strong, yet being heartned by the gallan-
 try and encouragement of their Commanders, they
 were resolved not to stay to receive the enemies char-
 ge, but to charge them. Therefore they place a hun-
 dred good souldiers over against the enemy, as it we-
 re to make good the Ford on the other side, & the rest
 marched away unto another Ford near the Castle, that
 they might get over the river there. The *Argyllians*
 when they perceived the *Athole-men* so resolute, re-
 treat straight towards *Sterling*. Then first of all those
Athole-men that were left below at the Ford, possesse
 themselves of the bank which the enemy had quit, af-
 ter that they fall upon the Rear of the retreaters, cut
 off

off som, scatter others, drive others forward; & the rest of the *Athole*-men following hard after, put them all to flight. Fourscore of them were slain, the rest escaped by flight: who fared the better because that same morning the *Athole*-mē had had a foule & tedious march of ten miles long, & had no horse at all to help theſelves. So they having come of with credit returned home.

At that time the Rebels held their Convention of Estates at Saint *Andrews*, which they polluted with the Innocent and I feare crying bloud of men never sufficiently to be commended. They had amongst their prisoners some very eminent men, as appeared by the hatred the Rebels bare them, (for they scarce sought the bloud of any but the best of men, but for others of whom they were not so much affraid, they satisfied themselves only with their Sequestration & Plunder,) amongst whō were the Lord *Ogleby*, Sir *William Spotswood*, *William Murray* a noble young Gentleman, and *Andrew Gutherey* a stout Gentleman & an active, whom they determied to put to death in that City, to appease the Ghosts of the mē of that Province with their bloud of whom it is reported above five thousand had been flaine in severall battells. Now, because they intended not to proceed against them by Law, but according to their own lusts, they have recourse to their old shifts, & make Religion draw the curtaine over their cruelty To which purpose they set up their Prophets *Kant* and *Blair*, & others that were possessed with the same spirit, who roar'd out of their Pulpits, bloody Oracles before the people; *That God required the bloud of those men, nor could the sins of the Nation be otherwise expiated, or the revenge of heaven diverted.* And

And by this art especially they provoked the hearts of the people (otherwise inclined to pity) to thinke upon them as accursed things, and own'd and devoted to destruction; perswading them that they ought to have no protection of humane Lawes, nor any Advocate to plead for them whom God himself indited and accus'd. Nor did those excellent interpreters and deciders of Gods secret will make any scruple to sentence the soules, and bodies, and all of so great Delinquents unto hell and damnation. And having by this means blinded the people, it was easie for them who were their accusers & judges both, to condemne the innocent men who were destitute of al patronage and protection.

But *Ogleby*, who was not onely the most eminent of them for Nobility and power, but also was a *Hamilton* by his mothers side, and cousen-german to *Lindsey*, pretending himself sick, with much adoe got so much favour as to have his mother, wife, and sisters suffered to visite him in prison. Which when he had obtain'd, whilst his keepers in reverence to the honourable Ladies, vvithdrevv out of his chamber, he immediately puts on his sisters govvne vvich she had put off, and vvvas dressed in all her attire. She also put on his cap in vvchich he used to lie sick in bed, and lay dovvn instead of her brother. At last many salutations and some tears passing on both sides, at eight of the clock in the night, in the habite and likenesse of his sister he deceived his keepers vvho lighted him out vvith cādles and torches. And immediately departing the City, he took a horse (vvchich he had laid for him) vvith tvo

of his followers, and before morning was got out of danger. But when the next day his observant keepers had found out their mistake, *Argyle* was so unable to containe his wrath and revenge, that he would needs have the noble Ladies (and the more noble for this their compassion and adventure) brought in question for it. But he could not effect it, for by reason of the equity of their cause, they found much stronger friends then he could, of the *Hamiltons* and *Lindsey*, by whose connivence it is conceived by many that all this Comedy was acted; but in a thing that is uncertaine I shall determine nothing.

This cleanly conveyance of *Ogleby* out of their hands vext the Rebels exceedingly, and made them almost wilde; whence it happened that they made a quick dispatch of the rest. And the first that suffered was Colonell *Nathaniel Gordon*, a man of excellent endowments, both of body and minde. Who being near unto his death, bitterly lamented with many tears that the carriage of his youth had been much otherwise then it ought to have been. And when being ready to die, they offered him an Instrument to signe, wherein he vvas to testifie his repentance, he subscribed it without any more adoe; and withall call'd God, and his Angels, and the men there present to witnesse, that if any thing was contained in that paper vvhich vvas contrary to the King, his Crown, or authority, he utterly disavovved it. Then being absolved from the sentence of Excommunication under vvhich he lay for adultery long since committed, to the great grief of the beholders he laid down his neck upo the block.

M

A man

A man subject indeed to that fault, but famous for his valour & souldierſhip both in forraign Countries and at home.

The next that was brought upon the Scaffold yet reeking with the bloud of Colonell Gordon, was a man worthy of everlasting memory. Sir Robert Spotswood, one rais'd by the favour of King James & King Charles unto great honours, as his singular vertues did merit. King James made him a Knight, & a privy Counsellor. King Charles advanced him to be Lord President of the Session, and now but of late Principall Secretary of Scotland. This excellent man (although his very Enemies had nothing to lay to his charge through all his life) they found guilty of high Treason; which is yet the more to be lamented, because he never bore armes against them; for his eminency lay in the way of peace not knowing what belong'd to drawing of a Sword. This was therefore the onely charge that they laid against him; That by the Kings command he brought his letters Patéts unto *Montrose*, whereby he was made Vice-roy of the Kingdome, and General of the army. Neverthelesse he proved at large that he had done nothing in that, but according to the custom of their Ancestors, & the Lawes of the land. And truly he seemed in his most elegant Defence to have given satisfaction to all men except his judges, (whom the Rebels had pick't out from amongst his most malicious enemies that sought his death,) so that questiōlesse they would never have pronounc'd that dolefull sentence, if they had but the least tincture of Iustice or honesty. But to speak the truth, a more powerfull envy then his Innocency

cency was able to struggle with undid the good man; For the Earl of *Lanherick* having been heretofore Principal Secretary of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, by his revolt unto the Rebels forced the most gracious and bountifull King to the whole family of the *Hamiltons*, to take that Office frō so unthankfull a man & bestow it on another: nor was there any one found more worthy the *Spotswood* to be advanced to so high an honour. And hence happened that great weight of envy & revenge to be thrown upon him, which seeing he was not able to bear out, he was forced to fall under.

And now *Spotswood* being about to die, abating nothing of his wonted constancy and gravity, according to the custome of the Country made a Speech unto the people. But that Sacrilegious thief *Blair*, who stood by him upon the Scaffold against his wil, fearing the eloquence and undauntednesse of so gallant a man lest the mysteries of Rebellion should be discovered by one of his gravity and authority) unto the people, (who use most attentively to hear, and tenaciously to remember the words of dying men) procured the Provost of the City (who had been once a servant to *Spotswoods* Father) to stop his mouth. Which insolent, and more then ordinary discourtesie, he took no notice of; but letting his Speech unto the people alone, he wholly bestowed himself in devotions and prayers to Almighty God. Being interrupted againe, & that very importunately, by that busie and troublesome fellow *Blair*, and asked, *Whether he would not have him and the people to pray for the salvation of his soule?* He made answer, *That he desired the Prayers of the people, but for his impr-*

Prayers which were abominable unto God, he desir'd not to trouble him. And added moreover, That of all the plagues with which the offended Majesty of God had scourged that Nation, this was much the greatest (greater then the Sword, or Fire, or Pestilence) that for the sins of the people, God had sent a lying Spirit into the mouth of the Prophets. With which free & undeniable saying, Blaize finding himself galled grew so extremely in passion, that he could not hold from scurrilous & contumelious language against his father who had bee long dead, & against himself who was now a dying; aproving himself a fine Preacher of Christian patience & Longanimity the while. But all these things Spotswood having his minde fixed upon higher matters, passed by with silence and unmoved. At last being undaunted, & shewing no alteration neither in his voyce nor countenance, when he laid down his neck to the fatal stroke, these were his last words, *Mercifull Iesu, gather my soule unto thy Saints and Martyrs who have run before me in this race.* And certainly seeing Martyrdome may be undergone not only for the Confession of our Faith, but for any vertue by which holy men make their Faith manifest; there is no doubt but he hath received that Crown.

And this was the end (a dolefull end indeed in regard of us, but a joyfull and honourable one in him,) of a man admirable for his knowledge of things Divine and Humane; for his skill in the Tongues, *Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriack, Arabick*, besides the Western Languages; for his knowledge in History, Law, & Politiques; the Honour and Ornament of his Country and our Age for the integrity of his life, for his Fdelity, for his

his Iustice, for his Constancy; a man of an even temper and ever agreeing with himself; whose Youth had no need to be ashamed of his Child-hood, nor his riper years of his Youth; a severe observer of the old-fashioned piety with all his soule, & yet one that was no vain & superstitious Professour of it before others; a man easie to be made a friend, & very hard to be made an Enemy; and who being now dead was exceedingly lamented even by many of our enemies. His breathless body *Hugh Sammiger* one of his fathers servants took care to bring forth, as the times would permit, with a private funerall. Nor was he long able to bear so great a sorrow & losse; for after a few dayes spying that bloody Scaffold not yet removed out of the place, immediately he fell into a swoon, and being carried home by his servants and neighbours, died at his very door.

Lastly, they give unto *Spotswood* another companion in death, *Andrew Gatherer* son unto the most deserving Bishop of *Murray*, and hated the more by the Rebels for that. A youth as well valiant in battell, as constant in suffering and contemning death. He also was threatened & rail'd at by the same *Blair*, but answered that no greater honour could have be done him, than to be put to an honest death in the behalfe of so good a King, and so just a Cause; which those that were present should see he embraced without fear, and perhaps another generation would not report without praise. For his sins he humbly begged mercy and forgiveness at the hands of his most gracious Lord God; but for that for which he stood there condemned, he was not much troubled. After this manner died with constancy and courage a man who if Almighty God had so thought fit had been worthy of a longer life.

And

And that now they might put the last Scene to a Tragedy of which most part was acted, after two dayes breathing they brought forth *William Murray*, brother to the Earl of Tullibardin, a young Gentleman, to the same place. And truly every man much admired, that his brother being in great favour & esteem amongst the Covenanters, had not interceded for the life and safety of his own only brother. Some imputed it to his sloth, others to his covetousnesse, as gaping after his brothers estate, others to his stupid & superstitious zeale to the Cause; but even all, the very Covenanters themselves, condemned his silence in such a case as dishonourable, and mis-becoming a Noble spirit. But the Youth himself, being not above nineteen years old, purchased unto himself everlasting renown with posterity for so honest and honourable an end. Amongst those few things which he spake to the people, those that heard him told me these words, which he spake with a higher voyce then the rest, *Account* (O my Countrymen) *that a new and high addition of honour is this day atcheived to the house of Tullibardin and the whole Nation of the Murrays, that a young man descended of that ancient stock, willingly and chearfully delivered up his innocent soule (as unto men) in the very flower of his youth, for his King, the Father of his Country, and the most munificent Patron of our Family. Nor let my most honoured mother, my dear sisters, my kindred, or any of my friends be sorry for the shortnesse of my life, which is abundantly recompenced with the honourablenesse of my death. Pray for my soule, and God be with you.*

C. H. A. P.

THe death of his friends troubled *Montrosa* exceedingly, as it had reason; but yet it was not able to break or shake his firm and settled resolution. Nor did his noble and more then ordinarily elevated spirit ever give greater evidences of it self then now. For there were many who being enraged with the unworthy murder of their friends egg'd him on being already sufficiently discontented, to a present revenge. And whilst they too much favoured their grief (although it wast just) and seem'd to desire nothing but was fit, to wit, to render them like for like, they wearied out the Generall with their many, and troublesome, and unseasonable complaints. For they must needs be angry, that their companions, their friends, their kindred, noble and gallant Gentlemen, yvel deserving of their King, their Country, and the Generall himself, should be murder'd contrary to their faith promised them, the custome of vvar, the Law of the Land, of Nations, and of Nature, and all unreveng'd: and on the other side such Rebels as had been taken by him to be kept rather as in their friends houses then in prisons, to rejoyce, to triumph, to laugh at their sorrow: And therefore they humbly desired such prisoners might be tryed as Malefactors; nor would the Enemy be otherwise frighted from their unheard of cruelty, nor the minds of his own men otherwise satisfied and raised up. Whom he entertained with a courteous Speech, commended them for the love they bare their friends, & told them *That the blood of those honourable and innocent Subjects*

Subjects ought to be reveng'd endoe, but such a way as became honest and valiant men; not by basenesse and mischief as the Rebels doe, but by true valour, in a Soldier-like way. It concerned them so to tame, as not to imitate the wickednesse of their Enemies. Nor, if they considered matters well, was it conscience, that those that were prisoners with them, and so could not be accessory unto the murther of their friends, should suffer for those sins of which they were innocent. The faith that they had passed unto them was a most sacred thing, and to be kept inviolate even by Enemies. Why should they make themselves guilty of that which they so much abhorred in their Enemies? The time would come when they must give a severe account of it unto the most righteous God, and to his Vice-gerent the King. In the meantime (saith he) let them set a price upon our heads, let them hire Assassines, let them send in their instruments amongst us to murther us, let them make promises and breake them, yet they shall never effect that we shall contend with them in an emulation which shall be worse, or any otherwise then upon honourable and virtuous termes.

Now Huntley, who intended nothing lesse than what he promised Montrose before his face, having passed over the Spey, and entred into Murray, trilled away his time, and wasted his strength without either honour or profit, a good way off Innerneffe. For giving his minde too much to prey and spoile, after he had wasted the Country, he heard a flying report that the inhabitants had hid their Gold and Silver, and the best of their stuffe in certaine turrets and obscure Castles. Which willes he assaults in vaine, and could neither by commands, nor intreaties be taken off from his resolution, the Enemy sending in provision on that side which he had undertaken to block up, relived Innerneffe with all things that they wanted. Which if he had hindered, as he undertook unto Montrose, the garrison would have been shortly forced to yeeld.

And

And *Montrose* having now received intelligence that Major Generall *Middeltou* was come with six hundred Horse and eight hundred Foot as far as *Aberdene*, and was like to lay waste *Huntleys* and the *Gordons* Country, sent Colonell *William Stuart* unto *Huntley* to entreat him to return again unto the siege of *Inverness* according to his engagement: Or if he did not approve so well of that, because the Enemy was advanced so near his Territories, he should perswade him to joyn his Forces with his, and to march immediately towards the Enemy, whom he doubted not with an easie hazard to overthrow. To which he answered scornfully, that he would look to his own business himself, nor did he need the help and assistance of *Montrose* to drive the Enemy out of his borders. At last after ten weeks spent in the siege of a small inconsiderable Castle, and the losse of all the forwardest of his men, he was forced with dishonour to raise the siege, when he was never the nearer. And in contempt notwithstanding much of *Montrose*, as of the Kings Majesty, he retreated to the *Spey* without the consent or knowledge of the Vice-roy: giving thereby a very bad example to all men, who began to come in thick and three-fold with great earnestness unto the Kings party.

Amongst whom the chiefest for wealth & power, and multitudes of followers & dependants were the Earl of *Seaforth*, the Lord *Rose*, and from the furthest Islands Sir *James Mac-donell*, Chief of a most powerful and ancient family in the Highlands, *Macklen* also & *Glenger* the Captain of the *Mac-Ronalds*, (& many more) who were some of them already in *Montroses* Army

with their Forces, others had sent for theirs. And by this means before the end of *March*, *Montrose* might have fallé down into the Low-lands with a farre greater Army then ever the *Scots* produc'd in the memory of man. But the unexpected revolt of so great a personage did not lesse encourage the Rebels to persevere in their course, then scandalize and discourage honest and loyall hearts. Whence it happened that those whose men were already come up to the Army began to draw off, & steal away privately, and others to make excuses for their delay. All which put together made *Montrose* to cast about another way. For he resolved (seeing he could doe no good with vain, light, wavering and inconstant men by gentlenesse & good offices) to reduce thē to his obediēce by his authority backed wvith the strength of armes and severe penalties; and to that end to force all the Highlanders and Northcountrimen, to take up armes, by marching in amongst thē with a confiding party of good souldiers. For he well knew that many Governours & leading men in their respective Countries, and Chiefs of Septs were of his side unto whom this course would be very acceptable. Nor did he question but the chief and most powerfull of the *Gordons* being weary of their Lords miscarriage, would doe him the best service they could if need was, though it ran counter unto *Huntley's* deligne. However he was resolved to use al fair means, if that would doe, before he would put them to the cost of that last and sharpest remedy.

But because *Inverness* was the most considerable gar-
rison of all the North, and the haven there most com-
modious

modious for intertaining forraigne Forces, he desired nothing more then to reduce that: therefore he surrounded it with the Forces he had. For the Enemies Army under the Command of *Middelton* was above fourscore miles off, & *Huntley* and the *Gordons* half way between them in a body. Therefore *Montrose* dealt again with *Huntley* to perswade him not to lose his time, but (as they had agreed, to joynt with him in the siege of *Jinneresse*; or at least to hover about the *Spey*, over which the Enemy was to passe, & to hinder their passage if they advanced to raise the siege; and if they chanced to get over to joyn their Forces together and fight the. To all which he answered so disdainfully, that the Vice-roy thought it his time to despair of any good frō him, and conceived himself engaged to look better to himself lest at last he should betray him. So that putting no confidence in *Huntley*, he sent back three Troops of Horse to lie at the Fords of the *Spey*, to observe the motiō of the Enemy; & if they came, to send him often & certain intelligence. And they quartering themselves in the most advantageous places for scouting were carefull enough to observe his commands, untill *Lewes Gordon*, *Huntleys* son, who then commanded the Castle of *Lothes*, plaid a more shamefull prank then any he ever did before. He assured those Captains of horse whom *Montrose* had set to guard the Fords of the *Spey*, that the enemy lay very far off and intended nothing lesse then to passe that river & raise the siege, & therefore he perswaded the (who took him for a most faithful friend) to let alone their needlesse guards (to which they had been appointed.) and to come to his Castle
to

to refresh themselves; and with many complements invited them to a feast which he had provided for them and they had no more wit then to trust him and go. He entertained them with a huge deal of courtesie, & besides very dainty chear plyed them with good store of wine and strong waters. And with a great deal of jollity and ceremonious courtesie, detain'd them so long till *Middelton* with a great Army of Horse and Foot had got over the *Spey*, and had gotten footing in *Murray*. Which as soon as he had notice of, he at length dismiss them, and that with these jeering termes; *Go now to your Generall Montrose, who will have a sharper blow now then he had at Selkirk* Meane time the enemy march straight and eagerly towards *Montrose*, & those Horse getting past them with much ado, came not much before them to *Inverness*, inso much as they seem'd to be but the Van of the enemy, and *Middelton* his whole Army followed within cannon shot. But, as the providence of God would have it, *Montrose* had notice of their approach another way and having drawn off his Forces a little way from the Town had got them all into a body. And when he perceiv'd the Enemy to be much too strong for him in Horse, avoiding the plain, he retreated with his men beyond the *Nesse*. The enemy falling upon his Rear, and being handsomly repulsed, kept themselves also close. The losse on both sides was very little, and a most equal. *Montrose*, pass'd by *Beny* into *Rosse*, whither the Enemy pursued him, that taking him in the Champaign ground which was disadvantageous to him, they might compel him to fight whether he would or no. But besides that

the

the enemy was much stronger then he, the Country people being faithlesse & rotten, and *Seafords* new raised men running a way by companies from their Colours, moved him with all the speed he could to save himself from the Enemies Horse. Therefore passing by *Lagh-Nesse*, and through *Strath-Glasse*, & *Harrage*, he advanced unto the bank of the *Spey*.

Montrose was resolved to proceed against *Huntley* as a publick enemy, unlesse he repented; but would try all fair means first, to see whether it was possible to bring him into a better minde. To which end taking with him only one Troop of Horse for his life-guard, in al speed he rid twenty miles unto him to his castle at *Bogy*. And as he was on his way, he sent one before to give him notice of his approach; & to tell him that he came thither alone & without his Forces, to no other end then then to kisse his hand, and to be advised by him concerning such things as concerned the Kings service; & he was the more earnest to speak with him, because he had newly received letters from the King from *Oxford*, which he would let him see. But *Huntley* being affrighted with the first news of *Montroses* approach, was so averse frō the presence of so gallant a mā that in a trice he leapt on horse-back, & with one man along with him, ran a way any way he car'd not whither; nor vouchsafed the Kings Viceroy the favour of a conference or entertainment. Which as soon as *Montrose* understood, he returned back those twenty miles the same day being the 27 of *May*; and was as carefull as he could possibly to conceale this frowardnesse & unrulinesse of *Huntleys*, lest it should be a bad president.

But

themselves and others of *Huntley's* friends, being most of them very honest men and complete Gentlemen, told all with a great deal of indignation, and detestation of *Huntley*; that by that means they might acquit themselves from the aspersions of so unworthy an act.

Nor can one easily say how great influence that mans example had upon other Northern men: The Earl of *Seaford*, who had been but lately, & with much ado reconciled to the Kings side, was conceived to begin to falter; and some say that being still unsettled, he had then underhand dealings for the making of his peace with the Covenanters, which truly I can hardly believe. And *Alexander Mac-donell* himself, pretending I know not what, although he had had often and serious invitation, made nothing but sleevelesse excuses and put-offs from day to day. Which carriage of his gave occasion of strange reports of him, as if he, although he was a bitter enemy to *Argyle*, yet had great correspondence with, and relations unto the *Hameltons*; and therefore staid at home, and looked only upon the preservation of the *Mac-donells*, not meddling with publique affaires. Which when *Montrose* considered, he resolved without further delay to make his progresse over all the North-country and Highlands with a considerable party, to lift souldiers, to encourage the well disposed, to reduce those that were refractory by the severity of the Lawes & condigne punishment; & to deal with them as men use to do with, sick children make them take physick whether they wil or no. And he wanted not fitting instrumnets to promote this designe, who had earnestly labored with him to take that course. While

While these things passed at *Inverness*, *Huntley*, lest he should be thought never to have done any thing by his own conduct without the assistance of *Montrose*, besieged and took in *Aberdene*, (which *Middleton* kept with five hundred men) but with more losse to *Huntley* himself then to the Enemy. For, besides the losse of many valiant Souldiers, he gave his Highlanders leave to pillage the City. But what fault those poore innocent *Aberdene-men* had made either against the King or *Huntley* let them judge, who know that almost all of them were eminent and observed for their loyalty. But for the enemy who he took in Armes, who were both many, and of very good account amongst their own party, he dismissed them freely without any conditions, and look't fawningly upon them, rather like a Petitioner then a Conquerour. Nor vwhen he had many Colonels, Knights, and others of quality (who by chance were found in *Aberdene*) in his hands, did he so much as think of exchanging any one of his own friends for them, many of whom were prisoners either in *Scotland* or *England*. But this was his humour, being alwayes more ready to doe good for his Enemies then his friends.

CHAP. XXI.

M*ontrose* being busie about his designe, on the last of *May* there came unto him a Herald with Commands from the King, who by I know not what misfortune had cast himself upon the Scotch Covenanters Army at *Newcastle*) whereby he was required forthwith to lay down his Armes and disband, and

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to depart into *France*, and there to waite his Majesties further pleasure. He being astonished with this unexpected message, bitterly bewailed the sad condition of the King, that had forced him to cast himself upon the mercy of his most deadly enemies. And doubted not but that that command which was given him for disbanding was extorted from him by the craft, or force, or threats of the Rebels into whose hands he had fallen. But what should he do in that case? If he obeyed he must give over the estates of his friends to plunder & their lives to death; & if he stood in arms against the Kings commad, he should be guilty of that crime he undertook to scourge in others, Rebellion. And especially he was afraid lest the Rebels should put his actions upon the Kings account, & use him the worse for them, seeing they had him in their power: of which the King had given him a fair hint in his letter.

Therefore *Montrose* resolved to call together all the Noblemen, and Chiefs of Septs, & Knights, & others of quality that were of his side; that a matter of that consequence which concern'd them all might be discuss'd by generall consent. To which end, after he had received so many injuries from him, he dispatcheth Sir *John Hurrey* and Sir *John Innes*, being men of greatest account in his Army, & (as he conceived) most in *Huntleys* favour, unto him to desire him to be present at that so serious Consultation, & referr'd unto him the appointment of the time and place. And to tell him moreover, that *Montrose* was willing to come to his Castle if he thought fit. *Huntley* answer'd; That the King had sent him letters also to the same effect, which he was resolved to obey; that the

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Kings commands were of that nature as not to admit of second thoughts and after them nothing was left for consultation. When they replied, that that likely was Montroses opinion too, and that he was as ready as any other to give obedience to the Kings Commands, if they were not forced; however it concern'd them all to provide in time for the safety of them and theirs. And that the credit and authority of what they resolv'd upon would be greater, even in the opinion of the enemies themselves, if they made a joynt and unanimous resolution. He made no other answer then that he had resolv'd for himself, and would have nothing to doe with any body else.

Montrose there fore sends his answer to the King by letters, whe rein he was very inquisitive of the condition he was in amongst the Covenanters, and whether he conceiv'd himself safe in their hands? and also whether his service could be beneficiall unto him any further? And, if he was fully determin'd to have that Army disbanded which fought for him (whiles the enemy in both Kingdomes were in a military posture, and crow'd over them more & more) what course should be taken for the security of the lives and fortunes of his most gallant and faithfull Subjects, who had spent their bloud and all that was deare unto them for his sake? For it was a lamentable case if so excellent m n should be left to the mercy of them that had none, not only to be undone but to be murdered. To this he received no open answer, besides some Articles which the messenger brought which were signed by the Rebels, with wich Montrose was to be content But he in great anger rejected those conditions which the ene-

my had made, being so unconsonable as they were, and not vouchsafing so much as to treat with the enemy, sent back the bearer to the King, professing that as he had not taken up armes but by the Kings Commission, so he would have no condition prescribed him to lay them down by any mortall man but the King himself. Therefore he humbly besought the King (if he thought it fit that he should disband his Army) that he would not think much to make and signe the conditions himself; to which, though they prov'd perhaps very harsh, he promised absolutely to submit, but he scorn'd the Commands of any one else whosoever they were.

The messenger returning, at last brought with him Articles signed by the Kings hand, with Injunctions now the third time, wherein he was required to disband without further delay; and the same messenger charged him in the Kings name, under pain of high Treason, to give obedience forthwith unto the Kings Command. And besides his Majesties pleasure, there was another thing which hastened him which was, that those that had engaged with him had most of the privately and by their friends laboured to make their peace with the Rebels; which was evidently known by good tokens of the Earl of *Seaford* and others. As for *Huntley & Aboine* they did not only professe themselves open enemies to *Montrose*, but also threatned to fall upon him by force of armes, if he did not immediately submit to the Kings authority. And *Antrim* being newly arrived out of *Ireland* in the Highlāds without either men or arms busied himself to draw away
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all the Highlanders as his kindred and allies to himself from *Montroses* Army, whom in scorn he call'd *the Governour of the Low-lands* making by this means an unseasonable fraction, and a pernicious one to his friends in those parts. All which *Montrose* having well considered, he was forced according to the Kings Command to disband his Army.

And truly that was a most sad day, in which having solemnly prais'd and encourag'd his souldies (as well as the occasion permitted) he took his leave of them. For although he bid thē to be of good comfort however, and told them he saw some day-light of a blessed peace, and that he did as much service to the King by his present submission, as he had done before by his Martiall achievements. Yet notwithstanding they all conceiv'd that that was the last day of the Kings Authority in *Scotland*, and all of thē beleev'd for certaine, that those Commands from the King were wrested from him upon the apprehension of greater dangers to his person if he had not given them. And although some provision had been made by Articles in writing for their Indempnity, yet they had rather have undergone the worst that could fall, then survive idle & unserviceable spectators of the miserable condition of their dearest King. And it was no little vexation to those generous spirits, to think what an unworthy opinion forraign Nations and their own posterity must needs have of them, as if all the Scottish Nation had been unanimously guilty of Rebellion & desertion of so good a King. Besides, their sorrow was much augmented with the consideration that their Generall, who

who was most valiant, most successfull, and therefore most beloved, should be taken off so unhappily from the King, from his Country, from themselves, and all good men. So that his souldiers falling down at his feet, entreated him with tears in their eyes, that seeing the safety of the Kings person depended so much upon it, and he must of necessity depart the Kingdom, he would be pleased to take them along with him into what part of the world soever he went. Professing their readinesse to live and fight any where under his command, and (if God would have it so) to die too. And truly many of them were resolved, though to the certain hazard of their lives and estates, to follow him even against his will and knowledge, and to offer him that service in an unknown land that they were able to afford him no longer in their miserable Country.

By the Articles to which the King had consented according to the desires of the Covenanters it was especially provided, that *Montrose* should depart *Scotland* before the first of *September*, and that they should finde him shipping, vvith provision and all things necessary vvhen he went. These things were transacted the first of *August*, and a Port in *Angus* designed for *Montrose* whither they vvere to send shipping from whence he vv as to imbarke. And *Montrose* to prevent and remove all occasions of exception or suspicion, being accompanied only with his own servants & a very few friends, betook himself thither, and waited for the shipping. About this time his most inplacable Enemies set abroad crafty & feigned reports by their fit instruments wherein they confidently averred, that the States of the

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Kingdome (as they call'd themselves) would by no means suffer that so gallant a Subject should be banished the Country: For they knew not how great need they might have of a man of his worth, especially if the King who had cast himself freely upon the affections of the Scots could not get any right of the English, but should be put to seek it by force and armes; and if it came to that, no age had afforded a better Generall then Montrose. And truly that was the earnest desire and expectation of most men, who were not able to dive into the bottom of the Rebels plots, but they had farre other designs in hand, and another game to play. For what their thoughts were towards the King, the sad event made too manifest, and for Montrose, they laid very unconscionable & unworthy traps to catch him. For they did this, that if they could flatter him up with such vain hopes, & entice him to stay in the Kingdome beyond his time appointed, they might take hold of him upon the Articles, & cut him off with more credit.

August vvas almost spent and no news at all vvas to be had about the shipping or late conduct: therefore Montrose, (although he was resolved to be gone by the day the King had limited) that he might the more fully grope the intentions of the Covenanters, gave leave to some of his friends to deale with them for further time. But when they brought him nought but uncertain & doubtfull answers, he had reason to think they intended nothing but to delude & intrap him. Besides (vvhich made his suspicion so much the greater) there came a ship upon the very last day allowed for his stay (to wit, on the last of August) into the haven of Montrose. The Master of it was not only a stranger to him, but a

most rude and violent abettor of the Rebels ; the Seamen and Souldiers men of the same temper, malicious dogged, & ill-condition'd, the ship itself neither victualled, nor fit to goe to Sea. So that vwhen *Montrose* shew'd himself ready to depart, and bad them hoise their Sailes as soon as they could, the Master of the ship told him that he must have some dayes allowed him to pitch and rigge his ship, before he durst adventure himself to the winde and vvaves. And then making great brags of himself and his ship, he drew forth a Commission vvhich the Covenanters had given him, vvherein he vvvas required to transport the passengers to certain places assigned by themselves, and to carry nobody else. Moreover there lay great English ships and men of war every day in sight about the mouth of the River of *Ek* (which makes the haven of *Montrose*) attending there in favour of the Rebels for their much desired booty, that by no means he might escape their hands.

But *Montrose* had sufficient notice of these treacheries, and wanted not some friends of the Covenanters themselves, who informed him by frequent messages that the Sea was sore pester'd with the English Navy, and he could not escape safely either into *France* or the *Low-Countries*; that the haven was upon the matter block't up in which he was to take shipping, and therefore it was very perillous for him to go to Sea; that his Enemies look't for nothing else, then that either by making too long stay in his own Country he should fall into the hands of the Scottish Covenanters, or by going he should be surpris'd unarm'd & unawares by
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the English Rebels. *Montrose's* friends that were with him were of opinion that it was best for him in so apparent a danger to return into the Highlands, & draw his men together again conceiving that he had better trust the fortune of war then so pernicious a peace. But he forbore to take that course, especially because of his most ardent affection to the King. For he was assured if the war brake forth again, it would be laid upon the King though undeservedly, and so he should bring his Person into present danger perhaps as much as his life was worth. Therefore being frightened on every side, one way with treachery plotted against his own, another against the Kings anointed head, he determined with an unalterable resolution to bear all the burden upon his own shoulders. And therefore he withdrew himself not out of rashness as if he despair'd of safety at the worst, but out of sage & discreet deliberation.

For when he had smelt out the plots of the Rebels before-hand, he had sent some a good while agoe to search diligently the Havens in the North, and if they chanced to finde any outlandish-vessell to agree with the Master for the fraught, and to appoint him to be ready to put to Sea at such a day, and to transport the passengers (which should be ready with him) by the help of God into *Norway*. By good fortune there was found in the haven of *Stanhyve* a small bark of *Bergen* in *Norway*, and the Master was soon agreed with, for he was very glad of the opportunity, having hopes for getting.

Thither *Montrose* sent away Sir *John Hurrey* *John Drummond*

mond of Ball Henry Graham his brother, John Spotswood nephew to that great Sir Robert, John Lily, a Captain of approved skill and courage, Patrick Melvin such another, George Wisheart Doctor of Divinity, David Guthrey a stout young Gentleman, Pardus Lasound a French-man, once a servant to the noble Lord Gordon, after wards entertained for his Masters sake by Montrose himself, one Rodolph a German an honest & trusty young man; & a few servants more. And these he had pickt out to carry a long with him whither soever he went, for this reason especially, because he knew the Rebels to be so maliciously bent against most of them then they could not be safe for never so little a while in that Country. And they on the third of September having a good vvinde put forth to sea for Norway; And the same evening Montrose himself accompanied only vvith one James Wood a worthy Preacher by a small cock-boat got into a Bark which lay at anchot without the Haven of Montrose; and being clad in a course suit the Lord and Patron passed for his Chaplains servant. This was in the year of our Lord 1646. & the 34. year of his age.

F I N I S.



